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BOMBAY BRANCH
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.
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PREFACE.

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No consecutive narrative is extant, as far as I can ascertain, relating exclusively to the personal history of Charles the Second during the earlier period of his exile; more particularly, of his residence for seven months in Jersey, when he is reported to have paid a furtive visit to one of the few royalist families in Guernsey.

Strongly impressed with the idea, that notices of his sojourn in the Channel Islands were to be met with elsewhere than in the History of the Rebellion, I thought the inquiry sufficiently interesting to warrant the expenditure of some amount of industry. Many years ago I undertook the task of examining various works, under the expectation that they might refer to

original sources likely to afford materials for a sketch of this period of his life. My preliminary researches were vexatiously unfruitful—even Falle, the historian *par excellence* of Jersey, affording but meagre information on the subject.

In his first edition,[1] published as early as the year 1694; Falle admits that, "he well remembers to have heard certain events, connected with the civil wars, spoken of among his people, when the past evil times were fresh in men's memories." Nevertheless, he studiously avoids entering into details; and, in reference to Charles, merely mentions his majesty's cordial reception, "when on two occasions he repaired to his loyal little island of Jersey;" his condescension and affability in accepting "the invitations and entertainments of our little gentry;" his skill in mathematics, which enabled him to draw with his own hand a map of the island; and his giving an order "for the construction of a fort, to be of the nature of an outwork to Elizabeth castle."

[1] "An account of Jersey, &c., by Philip Falle, sometime Rector of St. Saviour's, &c."

Falle's history, after having gone through several editions, was reprinted in 1837, by the Rev. Edward Durell, with notes and illustrations. The editor in a note announced the existence of several valuable MSS.; among them, a chronicle of unquestionable authenticity, containing a long and interesting account of Charles the Second's two visits to Jersey, by John Chevalier, *vingtenier*,[1] or tythingman of the town of St. Helier's, during the troubles. It was, however, not until many more years had elapsed, that I found leisure to inquire what had become of Chevalier's chronicle. I was assured that the MSS. did certainly exist, but that access was denied; the actual possessor, an illiterate person, refusing to impart their contents to any one.

Far from being discouraged, I forthwith embarked for Jersey, where the exertions of zealous friends procured me permission not only to transcribe the unique chronicle, but an opportunity of examining other documents

[1] Each parish is subdivided into *vingtaines*, twenty houses, under the control of the Vingtenier, whose office it was to serve civil warrants, warn militia-men for duty, and take charge of the parochial arsenal.

abounding in valuable information. These MSS. revealed to me that the history of the islands, during the civil war, formed an interesting episode in that of the mother country; and induced me to search other sources for illustrative facts, and to expand my work to its present dimensions.

The chronicle which forms the basis of the present work is entitled, "JOURNAL ET RECUEIL DE CHOSES REMARQUABLES EN L'ISLE DE JERSEY, ARRIVÉS PENDANT LES GUERRES CIVILES SOUS LES REGNES DES ROIS, CHARLES PREMIER, ET CHARLES SECOND." It is written in French, sufficiently pure to indicate that its author was neither uneducated nor illiterate, and it records the most remarkable events of every month, from the commencement of 1643 to the middle of February, 1650. "John Chevalier," says Durell, "was a plain good man, and a moderate royalist, who lived at the period of which he treats;" he was avowedly an eye-witness—sometimes an official actor in the scenes which he describes. The journal, moreover, is considered by local historians as a sort of semi-official authority, from its con-

taining various documents copied by Chevalier from missing registers, namely, the 2d volume of "the book of the States," and another volume in which the proceedings of the Royal Commissioners were inscribed in 1645.[1] Wherever Chevalier's transcripts can be collated with originals still in existence, they are found to be so scrupulously exact, that his accuracy in other respects is fully admitted. The Rev. E. Durell, in a note appended to some of these copies, says: "Monsr. Chevalier a copié cette pièce, et l'acte des Etats du 5e Septembre 1605, mot à mot, sur le Premier livre des Etats. D'après cet exemple il est à presumer que les autres pièces insérées dans le cours de son Recueil, et qui ont été tirées du deuxieme Livre des Etats, qui a été perdu, ont été copiées avec la même exactitude."

On comparing this chronicle with a series

[1] The loss of these volumes is ascribed to the parliamentarians having destroyed them, lest they should reveal matters they were anxious to bury in oblivion. I find, however, from a letter written by the parliamentary bailiff, that Sir George Carteret is accused of having carried the records of the states beyond seas, on his surrendering the castles in 1651. Some of the records he returned, others he retained, and as he had much more interest in suppressing facts than the parliamentarians, he is much more likely to have been the delinquent.

of unpublished letters in the Bodleian library, I discovered, to my no small satisfaction, that the one furnished a complete key to the other, and, that both combined, assisted materially in elucidating the meaning of numerous passages in letters on Jersey affairs in the second volume of the Clarendon State Papers; published, as the editor avows, less on account of their historical value than their intrinsic merit as literary compositions.[1] On the other hand, testing Chevalier, as it were, by means of these papers, I arrived at the gratifying conviction that the utmost reliance might be placed on his statements in regard to dates as well as facts; I had, therefore, no longer any scruple in making use of his journal as my text-book.

Another curious manuscript, consulted with advantage by me, frequently alluded to in Durell's valuable notes, bears the singular title of "Pseudo-Mastix, the Lyar's Whipp," written by three expatriated Jersey justices, (jurats,) in refutation of William Prynne's pamphlet, "The Lyar Confounded," which in its turn was an answer to John Lilburne's attack upon

[1] Vol. ii. Preface, p. iii.

him, for "supporting Sir Philip Cartwright, the malignant governor of Jersey."

From inedited letters in the State Paper Office, and these controversial pamphlets, I acquired much information regarding the social warfare from whence originated the connexion between the Jersey faction and the English rebels. I also availed myself freely of a collection of original letters placed at the disposal of Mr. Tupper of Guernsey, by Sir George Osborne, Bart., of Chicksands, in Bedfordshire, relating chiefly to the gallant defence of Castle Cornet by one of his royalist ancestors.[1] During my visit to Jersey I gained access to many unique documents; most of them family deeds and memorials, preserved as heir-looms by the descendants of the little gentry, "whom King Charles of himself would sometimes honour with a visit at their habitations, as he rode about the island."[2] Among the persons thus honoured, was Lawrence Hamptonne, the Vicomte who officially proclaimed

[1] These letters, modernised and corrected, have been collected into a volume, entitled "The Chronicles of Castle Cornet," by Ferdinand Brock Tupper, Esq., second edition, Guernsey, 1851.

[2] Falle.

his Majesty's accession in Jersey. The name has been long extinct, but the estate still remains in the possession of his representatives in the female line. Having it in my power to assert a strong claim to consanguinity, I hesitated not to apply to the present proprietor of the old house (in which a couple of centuries has wrought but little change), for permission to examine certain relics of royalty still in his possession. I had thus a further opportunity of verifying Chevalier's accuracy, by an inspection of the identical deed mentioned by him as having been granted by the King to Edward, son of Lawrence, who accompanied Sir George Carteret, as private secretary, to St. Germain's, in 1649.[1]

In addition to much other information, Chevalier's journal clears up several points connected with Charles's history at this period. In the first place, it is generally believed that after his father's death he was proclaimed in both the Channel Islands; whereas it is evident

[1] My newly claimed relatives generously bestowed upon me the carved posts of the bed stead on which Charles had slept, and a richly sculptured oak chest, which had served him as a wardrobe during his visits.

that this could only have been the case in Jersey, the sister island being entirely devoted to the Parliamentarian interest, from the beginning to the end of the struggle. In the second place, it has been asserted that he visited Guernsey *incognito;* which is not likely, as his council, who feared his falling into an ambuscade in Jersey, would scarcely have sanctioned his going, even privately, to a place where his enemies were predominant. Thirdly, he is said to have inhabited Mont Orgueil Castle during his stay in Jersey, and to this day a suite of rooms, terminating in what was Prynne's cell, is exhibited to credulous visitors as "King Charles's apartments." It will nevertheless be proved almost to demonstration that, whether as Prince of Wales or titular sovereign of England, Charles took up his abode exclusively at Elizabeth Castle.

In my attempt to present a continuous narrative of his proceedings, from his first coming to Bristol to the period of his meeting the Scotch commissioners at Breda, there is many a void, which I have ventured to fill up from

the History of the Rebellion; the Clarendon Papers, published and unpublished; Carte's Collection of Letters, and his Life of Ormond; from French Memoires, and every other available source.

CONTENTS

OF

THE FIRST VOLUME.

CHAPTER I.

HISTORY OF THE ISLANDS, CONNECTED WITH THAT OF ENGLAND—THE ROYAL COURT AND STATES OF JERSEY—FORTIFICATIONS—LETTERS FROM QUEEN ELIZABETH AND RALEIGH—THE OLD TOWN OF ST. HELIER'S—CASTLE CORNET, GUERNSEY—THE MILITIA—THE PULPIT AND THE PLATFORM—SIR P. CARTERET AND BANDINEL—PRYNNE SUPPORTS THE GOVERNOR. . . . . 1—43

CHAPTER II.

SIR PHILIP CARTERET MAINTAINS JERSEY CASTLES FOR THE KING—HIS OPPONENTS APPEAL TO PARLIAMENT—A COMMITTEE APPOINTED TO APPREHEND HIM—HE RETIRES TO THE FORTRESS—MAKES OVERTURES FOR PEACE—LEAGUER OF ELIZABETH CASTLE—SKIRMISHES BY LAND AND SEA—SIR PHILIP FALLS SICK—HIS PERSECUTORS RELENT—HIS DEATH. . . . . 44—102

CHAPTER III.

THE COMMITTEE APPLY FOR A PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNOR—PRYNNE INTERFERES—LYDCOTT APPOINTED DEPUTY TO LORD WARWICK—MONT ORGUEIL INVESTED — ELIZABETH CASTLE BOMBARDS ST. HELIER'S—REBELS FORTIFY THE HILL—LYDCOTT ATTEMPTS TO SECURE ALLEGIANCE—SENDS TO WARWICK FOR SUCCOURS—PRESSES THE SIEGE OF THE OLD CASTLE—ROYALISTS PERSECUTED—ROYALIST REACTION—PRINCE MAURICE, AND BOWDEN'S TREACHERY—GARRISON OF MONT ORGUEIL—LYDCOTT'S FOLLOWERS DESERT—THE STATES SUE FOR PEACE—CAPTAIN CARTERET ARRIVES—RECOVERS JERSEY FOR THE KING—LYDCOTT AND HIS FRIENDS DECAMP. . 103—175

CHAPTER IV.

CARTERET AND OSBORNE, CHAMPIONS OF THE ROYAL CAUSE IN THE CHANNEL ISLANDS—CARTERET RESTORES ORDER IN JERSEY—OATH OF ALLEGIANCE—MANY ISLANDERS STILL PARLIAMENTARIANS—CHARLES THE FIRST'S PROCLAMATION—PUNISHMENT OF DELINQUENTS—BODY GUARD—A LOAN RAISED—EARL OF MARLBOROUGH'S EXPEDITION—SEQUESTRATIONS—INVASION OF SERK—MALCONTENTS—CASTLE CORNET SUMMONED—OSBORNE'S REPLY—WANT OF PROVISIONS—SEA FIGHT—PRIVATEERING—CARTERET'S COMMISSION AS VICE-ADMIRAL. . . . . 176—232

CHAPTER V.

THE GOVERNOR'S DESPOTISM—THE DEAN'S ESCAPE, AND DEATH—ROYAL COMMISSIONERS—STAR-CHAMBER PROCEEDINGS—A POLITICAL OFFENDER EXECUTED—OUTLAWS HUNG IN EFFIGY—LETTERS FROM PRINCE CHARLES—SIR THOMAS FANSHAWE—CASTLE CORNET AGAIN SUMMONED—SUBSCRIPTION FOR ITS RELIEF—DESPATCHES FROM THE PRINCE—PRESENT OF WAR HORSES—GEORGE CARTERET KNIGHTED—DISPLAY OF LOYAL ZEAL. . . . . 233—299

CHAPTER VI.

PRINCE CHARLES SEPARATES FROM HIS FATHER—HIS PROCEEDINGS IN THE WEST—HIS LETTERS TO SIR GEORGE CARTERET—GOES TO SCILLY—EMBARKS FOR JERSEY—NARROWLY ESCAPES BEING TAKEN BY THE PARLIAMENTARY FLEET. . . . . 300—350

CHAPTER VII.

PRINCE OF WALES IN JERSEY—HIS SUITE—HE RESIDES AT ELIZABETH CASTLE—HIS PROCLAMATION—DINES IN PUBLIC—HOLDS A LEVEE—CONFERS TITLES—FIRST VISIT TO CHURCH—REVIEWS MILITIA—ORIGINAL LETTERS—PERPLEXING NEWS FROM THE QUEEN MOTHER—SIR BALDWIN WAKE SUPERSEDES SIR PETER OSBORNE—SEA FIGHT—BIRTHDAY REJOICINGS—HOSTILE SQUADRON RECONNOITRES—SUCCOURS TO PENDENNIS—PRINCE CHARLES' FIRST YACHT—ORDERS NEW FORTS TO BE CONSTRUCTED—A MINT SET UP—THE PRINCE'S REMOVAL TO FRANCE PROJECTED—ORIGINAL LETTERS—THE QUEEN SENDS JERMYN TO JERSEY—DEBATES AT ELIZABETH CASTLE—HYDE'S ROUGH NOTES—HIS HIGHNESS' DEPARTURE. . . 351—448

The
CHANNEL ISLANDS.
with the adjacent
COAST of FRANCE.
ALDERNEY
Race of Alderney
GUERNSEY
JERSEY
Cherbourg
Barfleur
Carteret
Portbail
Sarville
St Germain
Granville
St Malo
Bay of Avranches
Chausey
I. de Chausey
Bay of St Michel
Cape la Hogue
Jobourg
Nez de Vauville
C. Flamanville
Flamanville
Barfl
Sortainville
Denneville
Lessay
Coutances
St Margaret
Florian
Le Conquet
Lanbiec
St Servan
St Malo
St Cast
Tel
Dol

CHARLES THE SECOND

IN

THE CHANNEL ISLANDS.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

HISTORY OF THE ISLANDS, CONNECTED WITH THAT OF ENGLAND—THE ROYAL COURT AND STATES OF JERSEY—FORTIFICATIONS—LETTERS FROM QUEEN ELIZABETH AND RALEIGH—THE OLD TOWN OF ST. HELIER'S—CASTLE CORNET, GUERNSEY—THE MILITIA—THE PULPIT AND THE PLATFORM—SIR P. CARTERET AND BANDINEL—PRYNNE SUPPORTS THE GOVERNOR.

THE history of insular Normandy—the islands in the bay of Mont St. Michel were formerly so called—is much more intimately associated with that of England than has been generally imagined. It is a singular anomaly, capable nevertheless of explanation, that, during the civil wars, Jersey and Guernsey, the two principal islands of the group,—distant not more than six leagues the one from the other, the inhabitants owning one common origin, speaking the same dialect, governed by similar laws: "living, as it were, *in libera custodia*, a kind of free subjection to the Crown of England,"—took opposite sides, religious and political. Guernsey from first to last adhered steadfastly to the parliamentarians; whilst Jersey, after some brief tergiversation, espoused the

royal cause, and continued staunch in loyalty, until reduced to obedience by the redoubtable forces of the commonwealth.

During the interval, however, the last-named island on two several occasions afforded a secure asylum to the exiled son of Charles the First. Thither, as Prince of Wales, he fled from Scilly in the spring of 1646, and again sought refuge there, as titular King of England, in the autumn of 1649; when, politely dismissed from Holland, inhospitably treated in France, not daring to venture into Ireland, and unwilling to subscribe to the intolerant conditions of the Scotch, no other retreat was open to him, from whence he could conveniently watch the course of events, so as to take advantage of the first favourable contingency.

For the purpose of demonstrating how it came to pass that Jersey, above all other places, should have been selected as a *pied à terre* for the banished prince, it will be necessary to take a short survey of its previous history, and political condition at the breaking out of the troubles. It will also be advisable, for the sake of avoiding subsequent digression, to explain the peculiar nature of its constitution, which assimilates with that of Guernsey, but differs widely from the institutions of England and her colonies.[1]

[1] The last remnants of our Anglo-Norman possessions do not come under the denomination of colony, being neither acquired by conquest nor formed by immigration from the mother country, but adopted as appanages of her dukedom of Normandy. The islanders, after the reduction of continental Normandy by Philip Augustus, still clung to the representatives of their hereditary rulers, and were rewarded for their unswerving fidelity to the English government by the guarantee of their ancient laws and privileges; immunities of which they are justly proud, and for which they cheerfully perform gratuitous personal service both in civil and military capacities.

The administration of justice is vested in a Royal Court, which protects the islanders in their civil rights; has cognisance of all pleas, suits, and actions, whether personal, criminal, or complex, arising within its jurisdiction; cases of treason, and other crimes *nimis ardui*, being referred to the Sovereign and Privy-Council, to whom the Court is immediately subordinate.

The constitution of this tribunal, which has undergone no material alteration since its first foundation, not even under the rule of the Commonwealth, is described as follows, in a letter written by Michael Lemprière, the republican bailly or bailiff, to the Speaker of the House of Commons, soon after the island was subdued by Cromwell.

"The whole island," says Lemprière, "is generally ruled by the great court (so called in relation of inferior courts, of which hereafter mention shall be made), held in a fair *cohue*, or court-house, erected for that purpose. The assembly there consists of the baily, twelve jurats or justices, the king's procurator or attorney (so called heretofore), the king's advocate or solicitor (heretofore), the viscount[1] or sheriff, the greffier or clerk of the court, the denunciator or under-sheriff, five or six advocates at the baily's discretion, and a huissier or door-keeper. The baily heretofore was nominated by the king, and had his patent under the great seal of England: he is the head and president of the court, collects the voices of the jurats, and pronounces the sentences, according to their plurality; but if equality, then he hath the casting voice.

[1] The insular title is *Vicomte*, Anglicised in Rot. Parl. thus:—"Nul home de ley pursoint busoignes, en le court le Roy, ne Viscount (Vicomte) pour le temps que il est Viscount," &c.

"The twelve jurats or justices are chosen by the suffrages generally of all the islanders, without exception, and sworn in the court by the baily. The procurator and advocate were named by the king: their office was to plead for the king's rights, and to see all manner of crimes punished; they might also plead 'twixt party and party. The viscount was also named by the king: his office was to imprison debtors, after judgment of execution given, and never before; to seize goods, when he is so appointed to do by the court, and to sell them in the market-place, at public days, to those who gave most, to be applied for the payment of creditors, who may redeem them fourteen days after. He takes inventories of orphan's goods, and sometimes sells them at outcries for their use and behoof. He is clerk of the market, hath the care of all sorts of measures for dry and liquid wares; he looks to the water-courses of rivulets or brooks, with some officer with him, that all might be in good order for the benefit of the inhabitants; he is also coroner, and crier of the court. The denunciator hath the like power in the viscount's absence, with many other cares conducing to the accommodation of the islanders.

"The greffier doth enrol all the sentences pronounced by the baily, and that, *sedente curiâ*, in very fair register books, of which he hath the keeping, as of all ancient records, archives, privileges, franchises, liberties, and immunities, heretofore granted to the inhabitants by the late kings and queens of England, under the baily, who hath the care from superior authority.

"The advocates' offices are to plead for parties, which they do for very small fees, at easy rates—viz. sixpence; by reason that the people of all sorts and sexes, and

upon all manner of pleas, may and do plead their own causes, and have as much audience as the advocates themselves.

"There is also another officer of high concernment in the island, called l'enregistreur, or registrar, who doth register all and all manner of deeds which pass under the common seal of the isle; as partitions of lands between co-heirs, sales of lands or wheat rents, either in fee farm or for ready money, letters of attorney, mortgages, bonds, &c., for three pence each: all which are written in a compendious manner, without equivocations or law's quiddities, and pass all by oath, administered unto the parties by the baily, in the presence of one or more of the jurats, neither to do, or cause to be done, any thing against their demises, upon pain of perjury; all written in our natural tongue. Neither are those deeds authentic, unless the baily and two jurats at least are signed in them, besides the seal. Of this seal the baily is the keeper; but it is sealed in a bag by some of the justices, under their seals, and not opened but in their presence. The impress of it is three lions rampant, with an inscription bearing 'Sigillum Insulæ de Jersey.' * * * The nomination of the greffier, denunciator, registrar, inferior advocates, and huissier, belongs to the baily."[1]

The legislative body, or convention of the three estates —"an image and resemblance of an English parliament, a picture of it in miniature"—is properly a general council of the island, wherein every inhabitant is supposed present, either personally or by representative. These states, the existence of which have been recognised by various charters from time immemorial, were com-

[1] Jersey, Feb. 2d. 1651-2. See Appendix A.

posed of the bailiff and jurats (senators), rectors of parishes (clergy), twelve constables, delegates from the parochial douzaines or corporations (*tiers état*). The king's procurator, the solicitor, and the vicomte, though they represented no estate, were permitted to be present *ex officio*. It was at that period indifferent at whose motion this assembly was called; "whether at the governor's, when he would propose aught for the king's service; or at the bailiff's or the magistrates', when the interests of the island required such a public consultation; but a mutual agreement there must be, for it could not be held without the consent of the governor or his lieutenant, who had a negative voice therein. The bailly or his lieutenant was the standing prolocutor in these assemblies, as the Lord High Chancellor and the Speaker are in the House of Peers and House of Commons. As there, so here, every member present has voice deliberative."

The prerogative of the states was to pass laws and impose taxes, to supply public occasions; "for as the king of England, although admitted to be supreme, hath no right to levy taxes or make laws for the people of Great Britain: so here 'tis a received maxim, that no levies can be made upon the inhabitants unless agreed to by their representatives assembled in common council. Nor have the states a power of themselves to create new subsidys or imposts; but only, upon extraordinary emergencys, when the safety and defence of the island requires it, or application must be made to the king by persons sent over at the public charge, to levy what they judge sufficient for those purposes, by fixed and equal proportions according to the antient rate. In these assemblys, accounts of the public receipts and

expenses are stated and audited; differences arising about the disposal and administration of church-treasurys are examined and determined; works to be done for the common benefit are matured, weighed, and considered; deputys are appointed to carry up our grievances and sollicite our affairs at Court; good and wholesome ordinances are enacted under proper penaltys. * * * And in a word, all other matters are transacted therein for the happiness and welfare of the whole island." [1]

The sinecure office of Warden, Captain, or Governor-in-Chief of the isle, was usually conferred on some courtier, who never resided permanently, and seldom if ever visited the seat of government. His active duties were performed by a resident deputy or lieutenant, who, as the representative of the sovereign, held the first rank in the state; was entrusted with the custody of the fortresses; had sole command of the militia, over whom he appointed commissioned officers; but possessed no positive civil authority.

When the islands first became embroiled in national strife, the principal defences of Jersey consisted of Mont Orgueil Castle; the upper and lower wards of Elizabeth Castle; and a small tower at the entrance of St. Aubin's harbour. These places, together with Castle Cornet, a strong fortress within cannon-shot of the town of Guernsey, were garrisoned by English soldiers, under the command of royalist officers.

The old castle of Mont Orgueil, which signifies, says William Prynne, "proud mount, or Mount of Pride,"—

——"A lofty pile,
Within the easterne parts of Jersy isle,"—

[1] Falle.

is an interesting specimen of feudal architecture, supposed to have been commenced as early as the tenth century, by the Normans, and said to have been erected on or near the site of a Roman encampment. A more ancient and ruinous outwork adjoining it, called, from time immemorial, *le fort de Cæsar*, tends to confirm the latter supposition. The castle itself, a stately but slowly-mouldering structure, is seated on a rocky headland, bounded on three sides by the Channel, which separates it from the opposite coast of Normandy; *le Cotentin.*

The eastern, northern, and southern, or sea-ward bastions of the fortress, with their intervening curtains, rise to a great height from the very edge of precipitous, craggy rocks, which shelve abruptly to the surface of the sea. The defences on the land side, irregular, less lofty, but no less massive, still enclose an area of between two and three English acres. Dilapidated parapets and outworks beyond the present fortifications, prove the original line of circumvallation to have been much more extensive.

Bertrand du Guesclin, who jealously regarded this castle as *'la retraite sure des Anglais*, sought to gain possession of it in the year 1374, aided by the Duke of Bourbon, at the head of an army of ten thousand men, comprising the flower of French chivalry. The island gentry retired into the castle on the appearance of the invaders, and Du Guesclin laid siege to it for some time. But, after throwing down some of the outworks by sap, without injury to the main body of the place, he came to a treaty with the garrison, who agreed to surrender on Michaelmas-day, if no succour reached them in the meantime. Before the time of capitulation, however, had expired, the Constable, aware that his

presence was required elsewhere, and that an English fleet was on its way to relieve the besieged, abandoned his enterprise, and set sail with his forces to Brittany, at that time the seat of war.[1]

Despite the ravages of time, warfare, and modern innovation, the ancient fortifications are sufficiently perfect to enable the most superficial of antiquarians to recognise in Mont Orgueil the characteristic features of a genuine Norman castle. Proceeding through the land-gate and barbican, he will discover, as he stands within the outer balium, narrow steps leading to a passage, between the embattled parapets, of the exterior walls. Threading the intricacies of covered ways, leading to the interior, every here and there intersected by a stone archway, grooved for the reception of a portcullis, he will remark how serious were the impediments, even after an assailant had gained the outer walls. Entering at length the inner balium, he will behold the donjon, a lofty, extensive tower, built of rubble, with concrete, durable as the stone itself. This keep soars to the height of 230 feet above the level of the sea, and supports a platform surrounded by a high parapet. Looking through the embrasures, the visitor will enjoy a panoramic view of the island, the Channel, and the coast of France; and, if the atmosphere be clear, will discern from thence the triple towers of the cathedral of Coutance.

The State-paper office supplies an "Accompt of the ordnance, munition, and powder remaining in store for the defence of the island of Jersey, April 24, 1635:"[2] and "A Poeticall Description of Mount Orgueil Castle,"

[1] D'Argentré; Chroniques de Jersey; Le Quesne, Guernsey and Jersey Mag.

[2] See Appendix B.

published by Prynne in 1641, is sufficiently prosaic and circumstantial to afford an idea of its defensive capabilities about this period:—

"A proud high mount it hath, a rampier long,
Foure gates, foure posternes, bulworkes, sconces strong,
All built of stone, on which there mounted lye,
Fifteene cast peeces of artillery;
With sundry murdering chambers, planted so,
As best may fence itselfe, and hurt a foe.
A guard of souldiers (strong enough till warre
Begins to thunder) in it lodgèd are;
Who watch and ward it duly night and day;
For which the king allows them monthly pay."

But Mont Orgueil, notwithstanding its "murdering chambers," and impregnability by sea, was easily assailable by land after the invention of ordnance; being commanded by a neighbouring eminence, which was taken advantage of for its annoyance during the early part of the civil war. Had the parliamentary faction been furnished with a battering-train, the fortress must at this time have fallen; for, although well able to resist the shock of catapult, or battering-ram, and even to remain unshaken by the explosion of a mine or two, it was ill calculated to sustain "heavy brunt of cannon-ball."

Queen Elizabeth, about the year 1586, "at such time as the civil wars were hot in France about religion, and the French king's forces drawn downwards towards Normandy," enlarged, fortified, and gave her name to another work commenced in the reign of Edward the Sixth, on the south-western coast of Jersey, about six miles from the old castle, and one mile from the town of St. Helier's. She caused to be erected what is, emphatically, called the upper ward of Elizabeth Castle, on a rocky islet

ninety-eight feet above the level of the sea, insulated every tide; daily accessible, however, at low water, by means of a ledge of shingle, originally formed by the meeting of the waters. Along this causeway the garrison might attack the town, or the town the castle, paying due attention to time, tide, and circumstance; the assailants liable, on the one hand, to a raking fire from their adversaries,—on the other, to be overwhelmed on either flank by the rapid reflux of the sea.

The following letters, one from Queen Elizabeth to her master of the ordnance, the other from Sir Walter Raleigh, governor of Jersey, to Sir Robert Cecil, referring to the defences of the Channel Islands, have hitherto remained in manuscript:—

"Elizabeth R. By the Queene.[1]

"Right trustie and right well-beloved cosin, we grete you well, and let you wete (*sic*). Forasmuch as we are determined to furnish our Isle of Wight, and our Castle of Hurst, Calshotte, St. Andrewes, and Southsea, in o^r^ Countie of South^n^: and our isles of Garnesey and Jersey, with some convenient supplies of ordinance, shotte, powder, and other prouicions for their better defence. These are to require you to deliver, or cause to be delivered out of our store in our Tow^r^ of London, or of such provision as shalbe made for the saide places unto the severall captens that have charge of those Isles and Castles, or to such sufficient persons as they shall appointe, the particlers conteyned in a Scedule hereunto annexed, subscribed by six of our privie counsell, proporcioninge the severall natures and quantities that are

[1] Additional MSS. Brit. Mus.

appointed to everie of them. Intendinge, neverthelesse, with everie the said captens or their assignes for the particlers mentioned and expressed in the said Scedule,[1] whereof we require you not to faile. And these our lres, together with the saide indentures, shalbe your sufficient warrant and discharge in that behalf. Given under o^r^ signet, at o^r^ pallace of Westm. the fourteenth of Februarie, 1583. The xxvjth yere of o^r^ raigne.

To our right trustie and right welbeloved cosin and counselor, Ambrose, Erle of Warwicke, M^r^ of o^r^ Ordinance, and in his absence to the rest of o^r^ officers of the same."

"W. Ralegh to S^r^ Rob. Cecyll, Principal Secret. of State.[2]

1600, Oct. 15th.

"May it please your honor to receive the knowledge from the bearer, Mr. Paule Ivey, what wee have determined for the fort Isabella Bellisima in the Ilett where we have left workmen to finishe as much as this season of the yeare will permitt, and the rest to be don in March following; the charge whereof will be exceeding great, as Mr. Ivey uppon his consciens can wittness, and the profitt of y^e^ iland so farre under the comon valuation, as, untill your honor see the king's own leger booke, you will not believe; but, however it succeed, I hold myselfe unmeasurable bound to her Maisytye for her gratius respect to me therein; and I will never

[1] See copy of Schedule in Appendix C.

[2] Additional MSS.

think of any peny receite till that peece of work be finished, and past the recovery of any enemye, be it but for the name sake w^ch^ I have presumed to Christen it by, being before w^th^out any denomination at all; it had been very happy for if Paul Ivey had remayned to finishe what hee began ther, w^ch^, I assure your honor by the living God, is as prayse worthy a woorke, both for his judgment, invention, and industry in saving charges, as ever any man beside; and I have not seene a devise of that state and pride in any place of Europe.

" Sir, I do assure you, the poore man hath an excellent gift in thes workes, & y^t^ w^ch^ is rarely joyned to such knowledge, as mich trueth and honestye as any man can have. Your honor in my pooer judgment shall do her maisytye good service to be a meane for his reliefe, for such another will not be had; for the accompts of the late Governore the ar strang to me, for Pawle Ivey did more w^th^ 400£. then he did afterward for 2000£. Pawle Ivey is fittist to be used in the accompts, because he can cumpare worke to worke, and judge of the rest better then any man can; for, besid the unmeasureable reckninge made by Sir A. Pawlutt[1] of her maistie moneys they are not ashamed to ask 500£. debt of her maistye due to them for mountorguell. I have vewed it, & do not find y^t^ I had any commission to demolish it, and to say trew, it is a statly fort of great capacatye, both as mentenance and cumfort to all y^t^ part of the Iland next unto normandy w^ch^ stand in vew thereof; so as untill I know further her maistie pleasure, I have left att myne oun charge some men in it; and, if a small

[1] Sir Amias Pawlett, Governor of Jersey.

matter may defend it, it were pitty to cast it down; having cost her maistyes father, brother and sister, with her own charge 20000 mark, the erectinge; I will leave the rest untill my coming from Cornwall, and then lett you know the estate of that poore place, the importance of it, and how it hath byen handled; till then and ever I rest

ready to do you all honor and service,

Ex^d^ Sherburn. W. RALEGH."

Charles the First, in 1626, apprehensive of reprisals from the French, in consequence of Buckingham's descent upon Rochelle, added a lower ward to Elizabeth Castle, leaving, nevertheless, a considerable portion of the rock, called "*la terre de l'islet*," unprotected: it was afterwards fortified, as we shall see, by his son. But in the interim this portion of the rock was assailable from the opposite shore, and the upper and lower wards themselves were commanded by an eminence, within short range of the castle, rising immediately above St. Helier's, and consequently known as the Town Hill.[1] In 1644, temporary ramparts were thrown up thereon, by the parliamentary insurgents, for the purpose of protecting the garrison of Elizabeth Castle; at present St. Helier's Hill is occupied by Fort Regent.

Both town and hill form the eastern horn of St.

[1] Marshal Conway, imbued with his friend Horace Walpole's virtuoso propensities, coveted a cromlech, sixty-four feet in circumference, composed of forty-five huge stones in high preservation, discovered on this hill in 1785. "The states in a moment of enthusiasm unanimously voted this monument" to the Marshal, who had it transferred to Park-place, near Henley, in Berkshire, where it was re-erected. What has become of this precious relic?

Aubin's Bay; the town of that name, then the commercial port, being situated near the opposite promontory. About a quarter of a mile from the port was the Tower, frequently alluded to in the following pages, placed on a rock, attainable by land only at slack tide, at others surrounded by water. This fort, a mere block-house, was much more important formerly than now,—protecting shipping in the neighbouring harbour, and co-operating with Elizabeth Castle in defending the entrance to the bay.

The foregoing imperfect sketch of the scene of future operations may be rendered somewhat more complete by a description of the town of St. Helier's, derived from an old engraving, and traditionary sources.

The church, or *temple*, as the Presbyterian inhabitants loved to call it, was, in the year 1643, and long afterwards, remote from other buildings, and so open to seaward that its tower served as a beacon for mariners. It stood in the centre of a spacious cemetery, surrounded by stone walls, sufficiently solid to be convertible into a redoubt; and it was so converted in 1644, during the *petite guerre* between the Carteret and Bandinel factions. Its south-western wall commanded the causeway, and the guns planted behind the hitherto sacred enclosure bore point-blank upon *la terre de l'islet*, to the serious inconvenience of the garrison of "Isabella Bellisima."

A few avenues of detached houses, in the vicinity of the cemetery, leading down to the sea-beach, bore appellations sufficiently distinctive of their peculiarities. One was called *la rue froid vent*, indicative of the keen breezes which enfiladed the narrow defile; another, *la rue trousse cotillon*, in token of its miry character; a third,

la rue es porcs, and so forth, to *le coin aux ánes;* where donkeys were wont to congregate.

The dwellings of the *bourgeoisie*, more inland than the church, were massive granite structures, covered with thatch, none of them more than two stories high; the solid masonry of the exterior walls seldom less than three feet thick; the doorways hewn stone arches, the windows not much larger than loop-holes, and the casements latticed. Many of these edifices, enclosed within walled gardens, resembled block-houses rather than ordinary dwellings; so that, what was dignified by the name of a town, appeared to be nothing more than a series of fortified redoubts. No wonder, then, that bombardment from the castle was productive, as we shall find, of insignificant results on buildings so constructed and so situated.

The interior arrangements seem to have been as rude as those of the exterior. Huge beams of oak supported the rafters of low, dingy apartments, the ceiling of which was bare; the floor unpaved and unboarded; a yawning, disproportionate chimney on hewn granite occupying the gable. Within the hearth were fixed stone benches, on which sat the inmates of a winter's evening, on either side of a fire of wood or turf and dry sea-weed; men, women, and children busily engaged in knitting Jersey frocks and stockings; watching the culinary caldron, suspended by a pot-hook in the centre of the hearth—in anticipation of the *potage* of bacon and cabbage concocting for their frugal supper.[1]

Redoubtable as may have been the defences of Jersey in 1643, the most effective outpost, the key, in fact, of

[1] La Ville de St. Helier, Episode d'une Histoire Inédite, par. M. de la Croix.

their position, was Cornet Castle, seated upon a detached islet within four or five furlongs of the then celebrated harbour of Guernsey. This fortress bore the same relation to the opposite port, as did Elizabeth Castle to the town of St. Heliers: less accessible, however, from the shore, being encircled by the sea at all times excepting at spring-tide ebb, when the waters parting, exposed a rocky ledge, intersected by pools and quicksands; passable, without much difficulty, in piping times of peace, but somewhat precarious in the face of a belligerent garrison.

Castle Cornet, formidable even in the year 1372, as we learn from Froissart's pages, underwent many vicissitudes between the fourteenth and the middle of the seventeenth century; at which time, notwithstanding its proximity to the parliamentary island, from which it is separated by the narrowest of straits, it held out stoutly for the king during the whole of the civil wars, its garrison enduring great privations and hardships in the meantime. The only succours that could reach it came from France to Jersey, from whence they were transhipped; but unless run across in dark nights, under favourable circumstances, were constantly liable to interception. For this purpose, and to protect the island from assault, rebel men-of-war were always at anchor on an extensive sand-bank, emphatically "the great bank," about half-a-mile to the southward of the castle. Various encounters between these ships, aiding the *pataches* of Guernsey in preventing Jersey boats from throwing supplies into the royalist fortress, are described circumstantially in "Chevalier's Chronicle." But before these petty sea fights are detailed, it will be proper to give some account of the militia of Jersey; and

fortunately we are enabled to do so in the most satisfactory manner, by aid of an original manuscript, contained in the Osborne Collection, evidently drawn up by Sir Philip Carteret, Lieutenant-Governor of Jersey, towards the end of 1642 :—

"*Memoriall of the State of the Militia and Forts in the Island of Jersey, the Wants, Defects, and Means of Defence.*

"The island is in circuite neere fortie miles, seated by the costs of Normandy, seven leagues distant; it lyes invironed with rocks and strong tydes, difficult to be attempted with shipps of burthen.

"The landing-places are many, yett an enemie can hardly make use but of fewe to land forces by way of invasion; the accesses being difficult, easily defended, and the country itself fast.

"The island is divided in twelve parishes, and yields about 3,000 able men to bear armes, whereof some 1,200 are trayned and devided into twelve companyes, each parish making up a company. Twelve captains are appointed over them, reduced to three regiments of four companyes in one regiment.

"Each parish hath a publique magazin of powder, match, and bulletts for their ordinance; their belonging to them three demiculverins, iron peaces in severall bayes, twenty-four small peeces brasse, mounted and kept in their charges, to be drawen where neede requires.

"The king hath two castles. That of Mont Orgeuill, seated towards the nearest part of France, strongly built and stately, standing high upon a rock, but neere a hill which lyeth 140 yards from it. The chiefe use thereof is for a dwelling to the governor, a countenance

to y^e^ island, and retraite of y^e^ people in case of invasion, or sudden attempt for spoile.

"The castle Elizabeth is seated towards the west, in the entry of y^e^ harbor, upon a rock standing in a little islett, invironed with y^e^ sea every six howers. It hath of late been much augmented by a basse guard,[1] which renders it almost impregnable but by famine, which cannot befall it except it were abandoned of succour.

"There are in these castles kept in pay, two porters, two gunners, and fifty souldiers. But, of these fifty, six have bene struck of by order from the lords of his majestie's counsell, and three officers sent over to bee muster maisters, who receive the said six souldiers' pay. These, with y^e^ porters and gunners, receive each twelvepence a day, and each souldier sixpence.

"Neither the castle nor the island, in state they now are, are free from surprise, spoile, invasion, or conquest. Yett, notwithstanding, y^e^ island being under y^e^ protection of soe powerfull a king and state, the situation of y^e^ same, y^e^ sufficiency of y^e^ land to maintayne y^e^ inhabitants, y^e^ places naturally seated for retreat of the people and defence, makes it not hard to bee made safe against any attempt in any kind, without great difficulty, or great cost.

"To effect this, and to provide and avoid daingers:

"1. The people are to bee armed. 2ly. They are to bee kept under discipline and obedience. 3ly. The avenues of the island are to bee kept repared and fortified. 4ly. Their publique magazins to bee stored with powder and

[1] Built by Charles I. in 1626.

necessaryes. 5ly. The castles to bee manned with a greater retinue. 6ly. They are to stand stored at all tymes with necessary provisions of warre. 7ly. Upon eminent danger, they are to bee provided with a competent portion of victualls. 8ly. Those orders heretofore established are to be duly put in execution, and delinquents therein be severely punished.

"But, that these particulars may bee opened, and y^e^ better understood, it is humbly represented:

"1. Concerning the arming of y^e^ people. One third part have noe armes at all; one other third part are armed with some fewe bare pikes, most with holbects and bills of little or noe service. The last third part are sufficiently armed with musketts, to arme the people and fortifie the avenues of the island, &c. Upon Sir Edw. Conway, since Viscount Conway, coming into the island by the king's commands,[1] to view the same, and report y^e^ state thereof, y^e^ inhabitants were persuaded to an necessitie of having a publique stock, for y^e^ defraying from tyme to tyme of these and other necessaries. Whereupon they petitioned his majestye that their might bee a stiver raysed upon each pott of wyne sold in retaile in that island, which was accordingly graunted, and passed under his majestie's hand and privy seale. But the inhabitants, being now apprehensive of innovasion, are unwilling the said grant should be passed the great seale. Soe that it is conceived that there is otherwise no means left to arme the people but by these two wayes:—First, that the governor may have power to

[1] Commissioners Conway and Bird were sent to Jersey in the year 1617.

sesse the inhabitants to such armes as their estates may be able to beare, by the advice of the captains and the officers. The other (and y^t^ for y^e^ arming of those y^t^ are not able to furnish themselves), it may please his majestye to send armes into y^e^ island to bee entered in his magazin of the castles, and by the governor to be delivered to y^e^ captains, and by them to be distributed to each of y^e^ inhabitants upon bond, that they shall bee rendred and restored in y^e^ said magazin, whensoever they shall bee required.

"2. That y^e^ people kept in due obedience and under discipline. The state of this kingdome have alwayes thought it fitt to intrust y^e^ governor of y^e^ ile w^th^ the sole and absolute power of y^e^ militia thereof. Against which there hath happened of late some opposiçion, and distractions of evill consequence by^t^. That the governor is not to appoint officers over y^e^ companyes, but by approbaçon and consent of y^e^ company. That y^e^ governor may not alter y^e^ watches in y^e^ island, and y^e^ stations of them formerly appointed. That y^e^ king is to kepe his castles, and y^e^ inhabitants y^e^ island. Soe that, upon what occasion soever, they are not to bee comanded into the castles. That the governor is not to impose any comand of himselfe, or cann punish the disobedience of any, but by complaint to y^e^ jurates. • These and others y^e^ like, may it please y^e^ states here to have setled in their wisdomes, so that a governor may not abuse his power to y^e^ grievance of the subject. Yett he may have y^t^ w^ch^ befitts his charge for y^e^ safetye of y^e^ castles and island comitted to him.

"3. Concerning the repairing y^e^ avenues. The inhabitants have alwayes made and entertained certaine brestworks upon y^e^ landing-places for y^e^ musketiers to play

over, w^ch^ is as much as may well bee done in most of those places. Onely at the port of St. Aubin there lyes a rock, under w^ch^ all y^e^ shipping of y^e^ island lyes. This rock hath upon it five pieces of ordinance, and a small square tower y^t^ served to lodge a guñer, and to preserve y^e^ powder drye. It is humbly conceivd, y^t^ it would greatly conduce to y^e^ safetye of y^e^ island and y^e^ peservaçoñ of their shipping, if upon the said rock som fortificaçon were made, w^ch^ by esteeme will not amount to above 250 or 300^lbs^. The customer of y^t^ island may bee made keeper of that port, and a gunner to bee allowed him, those of y^e^ inhabitants that are next to assist y^e^ gunner, and a watch to bee sett in the same as a gov^r^nor shall appoint in tyme of danger.

"4. Concerning the publique magazins of y^e^ island, to be stored, &c. There is at this tyme little powder or anything els in their magasines. Sir Phillip Carterett, liveten^t^-governor, sent over by the House of Peeres to secure y^t^ isle, was by them authorised to take soe much powder and ammunition out of his majestye's store as could well be spared, and distribute y^e^ same amonge y^e^ inhabitants at usuall and accustomed rates. Which he having made knowne to the people, and offered to furnish them accordingly, most have neglected it, only some five or six barrells of powder have been taken of; soe that nether the musketeirs of their owne store, nor their magasins, are provided with sufficient powder for defence, nor will they allow any compulsory power further than what they please.

"5. Concerning y^e^ manning of y^e^ castles with a greater retinue. In the year 1617, upon S^r^ Edw. Conwaye's report, it was ordered by his majesty and the lords, that there should bee in pay in Mont Orgeuill Castle

twenty souldiers, besides officers, and thirty in Castle Elizabeth. This nomber may suffice in Mont Orgeuill Castle, especially if a watch, or court of guard by night, of the inhabitants, may be continued at y^e^ foote of y^e^ castle, as hath bene ordered by S^r^ Phillip Carterett, but stands opposed by some factious persons. As for y^e^ Castle Elizabeth, being since fortyfyed and much augmented, and lying in the sea, not soe suddenly to bee succored against surprize, a greater number may be thought needfull, that castle being the key of the island, for entrance into it, or otherwise. The souldiers' pay also being but five stivers a-day, and payed in French money, according to the valewe and enhaunce sett upon it by the French, is soe small, that y^e^ officers are constreyned to tollerate some neglect in y^e^ souldiers' dutye, that they may gett somewhat to live more than their pay, upon w^ch^ they can hardly subsist.

"6. That the castles may bee at all tymes stored w^th^ nccessary provisions of warr, his majestie's care hath been such, as they stand at this tyme sufficiently provided of most things, especially ordinance and powder. Some fewe carriages, and some other things of noe great charge, are yett wanting, w^ch^ are sett down in a particular list.

"7. Concerning the provision of the said castles w^th^ victualls. As the tymes are more or lesse dangerous, soe ought the said castles to bee furnished with things nccessary, as wood for fireing, syder for drink, corne, salt, &c. The governers have hitherto taken such provisions as the island did afford, sometymes paying easy and reasonable rates, sometimes restoring the said provisions back. But now the inhabitants think themselves not bound to furnish any, but where and how the

governer may provide himselfe, and at such rates as they shall demand, and that comonly deerer than they sell to others.

"8. That ye orders established heretofore for ye security of ye islands may be observed. It hath been ordered by Henry VII., and since renewed by his majestie, that noe Normanns or French should reside in ye island, otherwise than for trade, with the governer's leave, and that none should harbour straingers, but that they should give notice thereof to ye governer within twenty-four howers. The inhabitants, notwithstanding, takes daylie, Normans, maides and men servants, papists, without the governer's leave, lodge and harbour straingers without any notice given; soe that spyes have bene sent, and viewed ye island without knowledge of ye governer, till he hath, after their retorne, received intelligence thereof from France. One David Bandinel, an alien, and now deane of that isle, hath brought into the isle, and lodged in his house at several tymes, a masse priest, who had beane accused of sorcerie and witchcraft, and turned out of his benefice for ye said crimes, and likewise for (others unmentionable.)

"Likewise others have of late harboured Frenchmen; and these quoined counterfeit money, gold and silver, and vented it to the inhabitants. Sundry other orders, necessary to bee executed, are by factious persons pretended to bee against the libertyes of ye people; soe that ye king's rights and revenewes are by them also questioned and withheld."

As the state of religion, subsequent to the Reformation, powerfully influenced the politics of the Channel Islands, it will be necessary, in order to explain the anomaly

before alluded to, that we should give a rapid sketch of their ecclesiastical affairs: referring to Heylin for more ample details.[1]

In the reign of Edward VI. "the masse was here also trodden down," and in the churches of the islands the English liturgy, translated into French, was substituted for the missal. The persecutions which followed Mary's accession were carried out with great severity, by the clergy and the judicial authorities in Guernsey, where three women were burnt at the stake for heresy, under circumstances the most cruel and revolting. Protestant reaction in an opposite extreme, but not equal severity, took place when Elizabeth came to the throne. Those who, from "obstinacy or malicious ignorance," still adhered to popery, were ordered to be produced at the bar of justice, that they might be sentenced "to condign punishment for such grievous crimes."[2] The French version of the ritual was re-introduced, and for some time the islanders conformed strictly to the government and observances of the Anglican Church.

But the persecutions to which the Hugenots had long been subjected in France, and finally the massacre of St. Bartholomew, drove numbers of noble and learned persons into exile. Many of them resorted to the islands in consequence of their vicinity to the French coast, and on account of the language spoken by the

[1] Addressing the Marquis of Dorchester in 1627, Heylin says, "I shall draw down the successe of their affairs, from the beginning of the reformation in matters of religion to the accomplishment of that innovation which they had made in point of discipline; and therein, the full platforme or discipline itself, according as by Snape and Cartwright it was established in their Synods."—*Survey of the Estate of Guernzey and Jarsey*, p. 282.

[2] Ordonnance de la Cour Royale de l'Isle de Guernésey. Paques, 1611.

inhabitants. Among the refugees[1] were many zealous and enlightened ministers, who inculcated the doctrines of "the religion" in eloquent, persuasive discourses, which, being understood and appreciated by the islanders, touched their hearts. Henceforth the formal, vapid homilies of the parochial clergy—most of them foreigners, converted monks and priests—became intolerable to

[1] Il y en a eu quy ont resté les uns plus longuement que les autres, mais à leur liberté tout le tems qu'ils y ont esté guardez et protégez en toute sureté de danger; les noms desquels pour la plupart ensuivent, et en spécial de ceux qui durant le temps des troubles et persécutions se sont retirez enladite isle de Jersey, tant ministres que d'autres.

Les Ministres—Messrs. De la Ripaudière, Du Val, Dangy, Pierre Henicc, Des Travaux, Pinçon, Bonespoir, Des Serfs, Parent, De Froidcrué, Du Perron, De Chautmont, De Halleville, Moulinos, Vincent du Val, Gerin, Des Moulins, Cosmes Brevin, Olivier Mesnier, Marin Chestes, Martin, Pierre Baptiste, Nicolas Maret, Thomas Johanne, Toussaint le Bouvier, Thomas Bertram, Julien Dolbel, Laurens Machon, Josué Bonhomme, Edouard Herault; Nicolas Baudoin, Ministre tant de St. Pierre Port, en l'isle de Guernezey, qu'aussy que de Ste Marie, en l'isle de Jersey. Mr. Monange, a esté Ministre de St. Pierre Port, en l'isle de Guernezey, qu'aussy de Saint Hélier, en l'isle de Jersey. Messrs. Berry, Nicolas le Duc, Bouillon, G. Riche, Maturin Laignaux, G. Alix, Jacques Girard, Le Churel, G. Treffroy, Jean Girard. Mr. Arthur Walke, Ministre du Chasteau de Mont Orgueil, en l'isle de Jersey. Mr. Percival Wybone, Ministre du Chasteau Cornet, en l'isle de Guernezey.

S'ensuit les noms des Seigneurs et autres gentilshommes de France quy se sont retirez tant en l'isle de Jersey, que en l'isle de Guernezey durant les temps des troubles et persécutions en France et ailleurs.

Monsr. le Comte de Montgomery, et Madame la Comtesse, sa femme. Mr. de Liage, et Madame sa femme. Mr. de Caslitton, et Madame sa femme. Mr. de Montmorial, et Madame sa femme. Mr. le Commandeur de l'ordre de Malte. Mr. le Baron de Coulosse. Madame de Laval, et son maître d'hotel, et tout son train. Madame, femme du Cardinal (?) Castillon. Messrs. Daigneux, Des Colombiers, Bisson, De Moyneville, De Montforsey, De Granville, De La Branche et sa femme; Mr. de St. Voist, Mr. Des Granges, et plusieurs autres gentils-hommes et gens de bien, desquels les noms ne sont point icy.—*Chroniques des Isles de Jersey, Guernesey, Auregny, et Serck.*

their congregations; and thus Calvinism, at once, struck deep root, dispersed its fibres more rapidly, and, by comparison, more extensively than in England, where the foreign cultivators, however learned, were ignorant of the language of their adopted country. In Jersey, Mons. Guillaume Morise, Seigneur De la Ripaudière, established a truly reformed church at St. Helier, and in Guernsey, Mons. N. Baudoin, at St. Peter Port.

The resident governors of the islands, Sir Amias Pawlett, and Sir Thomas Leighton, Presbyterians, both of them "true blue," procured the separation of the churches from the diocese of Coutance, and their union for ever to the see of Winchester. They then resolved to establish a consistory—proposed that a synod should be held once a-year in each island alternately—induced the islanders to join them in a petition to the queen in favour of the new discipline—sent up a deputation for this purpose—and received a favourable answer from her majesty.

Elizabeth, in spite of her desire to establish conformity throughout her dominions, inconsistently enough sanctioned the promulgation of Calvinistic doctrines in the islands; restricting the service, however, to the churches in the towns only. But the indulgence was abused, the limitations evaded, and the Genevan form of worship extended to the country parishes. The governors, in order to establish the platform in every parish of each island, sent for Snape and Cartwright, "those great incendiaries of the English Church, to lay the ground-work of that building. Add to this, there was some glimmering also," continues Peter Heylin, "of a confiscation in the ruine of the deanries, with the spoyles whereof they held it fit to enrich their governments;

matters not possible to be effected, had he of Coutance continued in his place and power."

In due time the "two incendiaries" arrived: they were received with open arms, and loaded with benefits. Snape was appointed chaplain to Mont Orgueil; Cartwright to Castle Cornet, to each of which benefices a competent salary was annexed. "Thus qualified, forsooth," snarls Heylin, "they convene the churches of each island; and in a synod held in Guernsey, anno 1576, the whole body of the discipline is drawn up in forme."

Thus was the consistory consolidated, and thus ministers, deacons and elders, administered "the discipline eclesiasticall," until the accession of James of Scotland to the English throne. This crafty king, who held it as one of his axioms, that "princes on their first coming to the crown might not innovate the government presently established," winked at their nonconformity, not out of any regard for puritanism, but in order to conceal his real policy from his Scottish subjects. In his heart, however, he resolved to restore episcopacy in the islands as soon as possible, nor was it not long before a favourable opportunity offered.

Sir John Peyton, a red-hot prelatist, who succeeded the ill-used Sir Walter Raleigh in the government of Jersey, soon engaged in warfare with the ruling elders. Setting up a plea the most congenial to the king's disposition, namely, infringement of royal prerogative, he opposed their nomination of a candidate, and straightway appointed Messervey, a university student, one on whom a bishop had laid his hand, to a vacant living. The whole consistory hereupon rose up in arms, clamouring loudly about prelacy and popery; the laity took opposite sides in the quarrel; and an appeal was made

to the king in council. A royal commission of inquiry was sent over; and, finally, the governor and the elders were commanded to appear before council.

Peyton and the secular states, represented before council by the procurator, Mr. Philip Carteret, and Messervey, presented a petition praying for the restoration of episcopal jurisdiction, and the Book of Common Prayer. David Bandinel, pastor of St. Mary's, with three other members of the consistory, were charged to oppose all innovation, and to insist, as much as possible, on the continuance of the existing discipline. But one of the clerical delegates, tampered with by an implied promise of the hitherto suppressed deanery, betrayed the tactics of his colleagues, which threw them into confusion on the day of battle. Advantage was taken of their want of agreement among themselves—and the Archbishop of Canterbury, who presided at the council table, declared that, "for the speedy redress of their disorders, it was reputed most convenient to establish among them the authority and office of dean; that the Book of Common Prayer, being again printed in French, should be received into the churches; but the ministers not tyed to the strict observance of it in all particulars; that Messervey the ordained rector should be admitted to his benefice; and that so they might return unto their charges."

The delegates on their return, being "somewhat backward in obeying this decree, the council intimated to them," through Mr., afterwards Sir Philip Carteret, that it would be most expedient for the ministers to make choice among themselves "of three learned and grave persons," upon one of whom his majesty would fix to be the future dean. Each pastor, however, being

desirous of the office, was averse to naming any other from the fear of destroying his own chance of success; whereupon, Bandinel, a man of much ability and energy, taking advantage of the hesitation among his fellow-labourers in the vineyard, prevailed upon the governor to nominate him, "as a person most fit to sustain the place and dignity of dean." The Archbishop of Canterbury, on his presenting the governor's recommendation, approved of him. He was accordingly appointed to the office by letters patent from his majesty, dated the 8th of March, $16\frac{19}{20}$; "invested with all such rights as had formerly been inherent in the deanery;" preferred to the rectory of St. Martin's, on the next avoidance; and allowed the great tithes of St. Saviour's, together with other emoluments which had fallen into the hands of the governor and other lay impropriators.

Bandinel, the first Protestant dean since the Reformation, returned to Jersey in the month of May, 1620, furnished with instructions to compile, in conjunction with his brethren, "a new body of canons and constitutions, as near in conformity to the Church of England as the laws and usages of the island would bear, from which his majesty had no intention to derogate." After much deliberation, and frequent references to a commission consisting of reverend English prelates, the canons were compiled, and received the royal sanction in the summer of 1623. "Thus," says Falle, "did the Church of England, like an indulgent mother, take us again into her bosom, after we had for half-a-century estranged ourselves from her, and been under a presbytery."[1]

[1] Nevertheless a strong leaven of puritanism imbued the Jersey church for many years. For instance, "the service book," as the

King James, having been so successful in the re-establishment of episcopacy in Jersey, now attempted the same in regard to Guernsey. But "the little sister island which hath no breasts," says Peter Heylin, "was not yet weaned from the breasts of her late mother of Geneva." Governor Leighton, moreover, "having had so main a hand in the introduction of the platforme, could not be brought with any stomach to intend an alteration of his own counsels," and the inhabitants continued "more peremptory than ever to their old *mumpsimus*." Thus did the people of Guernsey continue until the breaking out of the civil war, when, their puritanical sympathies, being all in favour of the popular party in England, they naturally sided with the parliament, thereby attesting their attachment to the British nation.

In Jersey, the parochial clergy and the inhabitants submitted, without murmuring, to the restoration of episcopalian constitutions; so that in regard to spiritual matters, all went on satisfactorily. In process of time, disputes arose between the governor and the dean, about certain temporalities of the Church, and these disputes engendering two adverse factions, like the feuds between the *Neri* and the *Bianchi* of mediæval Florence, long disturbed the tranquillity of the small insular community.

Philip Carteret, Esqre.,[1] as he is designated in official

liturgy was slightingly called, was seldom followed; the surplice never worn; fonts were never used; the sign of the cross in baptism was still repudiated; the communion-table was retained in *front* of the pulpit; the clerk read the lessons, recited two verses of the psalms at funerals, which were sung by the attendants; and the royal court, a secular body, assumed to itself the right of appointing days for fasting and thanksgiving.

[1] It is most convenient to adopt the English style of spelling, although in reality the name is properly De Carteret; but the particle

documents, performs, even before he was knighted, so prominent a part in the events which follow, that an account of his public career is tantamount to a sketch of the manner in which Jersey was involved in the general strife.

Mr. Philip Carteret, seigneur of St. Ouen's and other fiefs in Jersey, was born in the month of February, 1583, and partly educated at Oxford, where, however, he does not appear to have taken a degree. In 1605, being lord of the principal manor in the island, the representative of a powerful family, and possessed of considerable property, he was elected jurat of the royal court of Jersey; and, some years after this, we find him employed as agent of the states, in watching the proceedings before the privy council, relative to the conflicting claims of Sir John Peyton and the elders. On the 7th of May, 1618, we find him for the first time styled Sir Philip Carteret,[1] by which title we shall henceforth designate him.[2] In 1626, John Herault, the bailiff of Jersey died, and Sir Philip was nominated

was dispensed with, especially by Sir George Carteret, an example followed by the late Lord de Saumarez when he entered the navy; the *de* was however annexed to his title as peer.

[1] In a document in the State Paper Office.

[2] About this time he married Ann, daughter of Sir Francis Douse, Knight, of Wallop, in Hampshire, by whom he had seven sons and three daughters. The girls were named Elizabeth, Margaret, and Douse. To the first, who married her cousin, Sir George Carteret, Prynne dedicated his "Christian Sea-Card," — his "Christian Paradise" he addressed "To the worshipfull his ever-honoured kind friend, Mrs. Douse and Mrs. Margaret Carteret, daughter to Sir Philip Carteret, Knight, lieutenant-governor and bayliffe of the isle of Jersey:"—

"Sweetnesse and beauty, two chiefe qualities
Of gardens, shine forth in such radiant wise
In you, sweete Mrs. Douse, fair Margaret,
Prime flowers of the house of Carteret,
That 'twere ingratitude, nay injury,
For me in silence here to pass you by," &c.

Juge Delegué, to preside over the court until the vacant office was permanently filled. The meaning and drift of his appointment as *locum tenens* appears from the following letter:—

"Sir John Peyton to Lord Conway.[1]

"Jersey, 16th March, 1625-6.

"Right honorable my very good Lord,

"To prevent the licentiousness which generally people are prone to in the interims, and discontinuance of orderly justice, I this day held an assembly of the 3 Estates of this isle (as hath in the like vacancyes ever beene used), propounding to them my choosing S^r^ Phillip Carterett for Judge Delegué, till there should be a Bailiff established: this choice was approved with great applause of all, and generall expression of their desires to have him their Bailiff; which, (if the Governor's antient power, had not by meanes of the deceased Bayliff, of late beene resumed, into his mat^yes^ hands) had beene effected. Howsoever, he hath taken oath, and is possest of the chaire, a stepp and preparation to facilitate your Lp^s^ favoring him with the Pattent for the Bailliwicke, and therefore I reiterate my former suit the boldlyer, for that the whole contry subscribe to the same. (Praying continually for yor Lp^s^ health and happyness) I most humbly take my leave.

"Your Lp^s^ Servant to command,

"JOHN PEYTON."

"To the Right Honorable his very good Lord, the Lord Conway, his Ma^tyes^ principall Secretary of State.

"At Court."

[1] State-paper Office.

Carteret, although a rival candidate seems to have started up in the person of a certain Philip Marrett, speedily obtained the "Pattent for the Bailliwicke," which he attributed to Lord Conway's friendly interposition, to whom accordingly he wrote a letter of thanks. However popular he may have been previously, he soon fell into disfavour, and in the course of the ensuing year we find that "factious speeches were uttered against him by James Bandinel (the dean's son), curate of St. Mary's."[1] This reaction, doubtless, proceeded from his arbitrary conduct on the bench, and his successful endeavours to increase his already overwhelming power and influence, by accumulating offices of trust in his own person, and appointing his own relatives to public situations that fell vacant, or were likely at any time to become so. For himself he obtained the office of receiver, or farmer, of crown revenues, the reversion of the bailliwick in favour of his brother, with continuance to his son. He had already procured the dismissal of the attorney-general, and the appointment of another Carteret in his place. A large proportion of the magistrates were of his name and lineage; and in the militia, of which he was commander-in-chief, one brother-in-law, two nephews, and seven Carterets were captains. His grasping ambition was still further gratified about the year 1630, when Sir Thomas Jermyn, on being appointed governor of Jersey, nominated Sir Philip as his lieutenant. Thus monopolising the chief authority,—militia, civil and financial,—he became little, if at all, inferior in authority to the pro-consul of a Roman province.

[1] Various letters in the State-paper Office.

On the 17th of January, 1637, William Prynne arrived in Jersey, and was

"Shut up close-prisoner in Mount Orgueil Pile,"—

the official residence of the lieutenant-governor, Sir Philip Carteret, in whose custody he remained for nearly three years. During this period a warm friendship was formed between these heterogeneous compounds, the puritanical roundhead, and the prelatical royalist, arising from humanity on the one part, and gratitude on the other; reflecting equal credit on the memory of both.[1]

Prynne, soon after his release and triumphal entry into London, "the common people strewing flowers and herbs" in his path, acknowledges the great favour he has received from Sir Philip, in the dedication of his poetical meditations; begging his friend to accept them as a small pledge of his gratitude:

——————— "till opportunity
And better days, enable him to finde,
Some other means to pay all that's behinde."

The better days soon arrived, when the late captive did not neglect the opportunity offered for the redemption of his pledge, and Sir Philip was amply rewarded for his humanity and tenderness.

Whilst Prynne was still in Jersey, a feud, long smouldering between the lieutenant-governor and the dean,[2]

[1] The female portion of the governor's family come in for their share of Prynne's grateful recollections; his poetical meditations, "Rocks Improved," being dedicated "To the right worshipfull, his most highly-honoured, speciall kind friend, the truly vertuous and religious lady, Anne Carteret," &c. But it must be confessed, "The Poem's like the subject, barren, rude, uncompt."

[2] The origin of the quarrel is not ascertained; it probably arose from the factious speeches uttered by the dean's son, James Bandinel, in 1627. *Ante*, p. 34.

had burst forth into a flame, in consequence of Sir Philip, in his capacity of receiver of crown revenues, seeking to deprive Bandinel of the great tithes of the parish of St. Saviour. These tithes had been impropriated by Governor Peyton, during the abolition of the deanery, but were restored, as we have seen, on the re-establishment of the office. Sir Philip founded his title on the plea that the patent of Sir Thomas Jermyn, conferring on him the enjoyment of the said tithes, was antecedent to that by which they were granted to the dean; and he sued the latter before the insular tribunal, not only to give up the tithes, but to make restitution of the arrears he had been in the receipt of for twenty years. But as Jermyn's patent could not be produced, the royal court of Jersey gave judgment against the plaintiff, who appealed from this decision to the king in council.

Without apparently entering deeply into the merits of the case, the council issued a decree on the 14th of January, 1642, ordering the said tithes to be sequestered in the hands of the sheriff, Lawrence Hamptonne, till his majesty could "decide the title to whom those tithes of right belonged." Bandinel thereupon repaired to England,[1] and presented a petition to the king. His majesty referred it to the Archbishop of York, who,

[1] Prynne, in his "Lyar Confounded," states that Bandinel, "who came over into England to procure a benefice in Jersey for a distracted son of his," (he had such a son,) "and to complain to the Archbishop of Canterbury, against Sir Philip, for his courtesies and kindnesse unto me, as the readiest means to obtain his desires; but instead thereof, this parliament being assembled before his arrivall here, and the Archbishop questioned, he met with articles of complaint against himselfe, for severall grosse misdemeanours, and oppressions done by him in that isle as dean, for which he was committed by the Commons House for two or three months to the serjeant's custody."

after examining "all particulars and dependencies of the cause," sent in a certificate and report in favour of the dean's title; the council in consequence issued another warrant, on the 8th of August, requiring the sheriff to restore the sequestered property to the dean.[1]

This dean, David Bandinel, or Bandinelli, an Italian of noble birth, exiled from his native country in consequence of religious persecution, came to Jersey early in the seventeenth century. He was protected and befriended by Philip Carteret, "a man most cordiall and helpfull to poor distressed Protestants and ministers," who procured for him the living of St. Brelades; afterwards translated him to that of St. Mary's, and appointed his son to the rectory of St. Martin's, the two best benefices in the island. Carteret, moreover, assisted and supported the elder Bandinel in his efforts to obtain the deanery, and for some years they were close allies; but their friendship did not long survive their elevation to the posts they occupied in church and state. The haughty temperament of the Italian could not brook the insults to which he was subjected by an attempt at the invasion of his rights; and, therefore, no sooner had war been declared by the governor than he confederated with certain discontented jurats, rectors, officers of militia, and headed a faction which persecuted Sir Philip to the very day of his death.

The chief of these malcontents was Michael Lemprière, who aspired to the office of bailiff, and consequently desired the overthrow of his rival; the second, Henry Dumaresq, "Mons[r] Samyres (Samarez), who was justly questioned by Sir Philip for an affront

[1] These documents are copied by Chevalier from the rolls of the Jersey Court.

against him as deputy governour, in laying down his captain's staffe and command in the open field, because he could not have his will in disposing of the lieutenant's place in his band to a person altogether unfit, whome the whole company disliked." The third and fourth were Abraham Herault, and Benjamin Bisson; and in process of time, Peter d'Assigny, rector of St. Helier's, who in the sequel comes prominently forward, was added to the number.

The conspirators, unable to assail Sir Philip with any chance of success, by an appeal to the privy council, (the only proper course according to the constitution of the island,) took advantage of his presence in London, and of the dissensions between the king and his parliament, to draw attention indirectly to the governor's alleged misdemeanours. "They first of all secretly contrived divers false and scandalous articles against Sir Philip to the parliament, without any name subscribed, and inclosed them in a letter, desiring any well-affected person who should take them, to present them to the house of parliament, left them upon the stocks at London; where, being found by one who passed that way, they were presented to some members of the House, who gave Sir Philip notice thereof." Although Mr. Prynne is careful not to avow it, there can be little doubt that he, at that time in high favour and influence with the close committee, was the "one," who gave information to his friend Carteret of what was going on.

Not long after, the dean and his colleagues drew up a series of charges, in accordance with the tenor of the anonymous letters, and caused some copies of them to be delivered to sundry members of both Houses, not for

the purpose of their being read in public, but to injure Sir Philip, underhand, in the opinion of those members, so as to induce them to inquire into the affair, and take the initiative in impeaching him, before he could leave England. These articles, entitled, "An humble information of the States of Jersey, and grievances of the inhabitants," consist of upwards of twenty accusations, some true, some false, others grossly exaggerated, and utterly frivolous.

The most valid among these are,—the non-residence of a governor, alleged to be injurious to his majesty's service, and the security of the island; the frequent absences of the deputy-governor, and his entrusting the charge of an "important frontier place" either to his son or his nephew, both young inexperienced men;[1] the reserving to himself sundry offices, incompatible the one with the other, such as those of lieutenant-governor, bailiff, and farmer of the king's revenue: thereby constituting himself "judge and party, at will;" the securing reversions to his kindred, thereby "eternizing" all offices in his own family, and among his own creatures. He was also accused of opposing the election of the ablest men to the bench; of violent and tyrannic bearing in the seat of justice; of uttering fearful threats against those jurats who opposed him; and of various other acts subversive of the laws, and at variance with the rights of the community.[2]

A copy of these articles being placed in the Earl of Stamford's hands, Mr. Prynne again interposes, and,

[1] The nephew was George Carteret, captain in the "royal navy," a man of sufficient rank and experience to be deemed worthy of being vice-admiral of the fleet under Warwick.

[2] These charges are given in detail in the Pseudo-Mastix.

apprehensive of their being entertained by the Commons, induces Sir Philip to solicit that they may be read before the House of Lords, and that his accusers may be called upon to substantiate their charges, in order that he may be enabled to clear himself ere his departure for Jersey, and not be slandered in his absence.

A day of hearing is accordingly appointed "before a committee of the Lords, in the Lords' House, whereat," says Prynne, "I was present. The Dean and Samyres being called in, they were demanded first whether they had any deputation or commission from all the islanders, or any considerable part of them, to exhibit these articles against Sir Philip, they being intituled, 'Articles exhibited by the inhabitants of the isle of Jersey,' &c., and complaining, for the most part, only of general grievances to the island? They answered, they had no deputation from the states or inhabitants of the island to exhibit those articles, but they doubted not but they would justifie and allow what they had done. Whereupon Sir Philip produced a deputation[1] from the three estates of that island made in their general assembly, under their common seal, deputing and intrusting him for their agent to the parliament to informe them of some public grievances of which they desyred redresse, and crave some confirmation and enlargement of their

[1] A copy of this very document, endorsed "Jersey—for Mr. Prinn," is extant among the Channel Island papers in the State-paper Office, from which we give the following extract:—

"Aux estats tenus devant Monsr le lieutenãt bailly, Monsr le lieutenant gouverneur prst, assisté des justiciers, ministres et conestables: L'an mille six cents quarante et deulx, le vingt et unieme jor du moys d'apvril.

" * * * * * Outre plus lecture ayant esté faicte aux estats d'une c'taine petition pntée au Srs du parlement tendant à empescher le

priviledges; which deputation certainly they would never have made to him, had himself been the chief and only publick grievance, as the articles imported, and such an enemy to their common good as was suggested.

"Whereupon the Lords were fully satisfied, the accusers silenc'd and reproved by the Lords for abusing them and the islanders, in presenting a petition in their names, without their privity and commission, against a person of honour, deputed by them to the parliament and state. After which they demanded of them, severally, what they could object or prove against Sir Philip, who answered that they could prove nothing for the present, since all their witnesses were in Jersey, and that they could attest little of their own knowledge; only Samyres complained, that Sir Philip had put him from his Captain's place, and ordered him to answer his contempt in England, in refusing to take it up againe; whereupon Sir Philip answered that he had voluntarily laid it down in contempt, for which he had power to fine and commit him; but, in regard he was his kinsman, and one of a weak estate, he only gave him an admonition, and used him with all kindness and civility; which Samyres could not deny, on whose part the busi-

retor dudit Sr Lieutn-gouvernr pour estre au grand grief et préjudice des habitants, l'affection desquels il auroit totalement distraicte d'avec luy par violences et oppressions inouyes coñynses par luy sur le peuple, infractions de priviledges, loix et malversaons en ses charges: Monsr le lieutenãt bailly, ayant sur ce, démandé et recuilly les voix, à esté dit presque par tous, n'avoir eu cy devant cognoissance de telle petition, laquelle ils declarent n'estre n'y par leur adveu n'y en la fyee (*sic*) de c'est estat: au cõtraire la desadvouent, et ceulx qui l'ont presenté: recognoissant les bons services du dit Sr Lieutenãt Gouverner, la bonne justice qu'il exerce au peuple, et la necessité de son retor en ceste isle pour la bonne conduite d'ycelle.

"P. Le Geyt."

nesse appeared so foul, that they told Sir Philip, because he did not commit him for his contempt then, they would commit him now, and the Dean too, for their malicious, libellous articles, which they could not prove, nor say any thing of their own knowledge. But by Sir Philip's importunity and request, their commitment was taken off. Soon after which, Sir Philip was settled Deputy Governour of that isle, by order and approbation of both Houses, and ordered to put it in a posture of defence against the French; whereupon he returned to Jersey."

Sir Philip's adversaries, the authors of "Pseudo-Mastix," give a somewhat different version of the affair, but do not impugn the leading facts. Both accounts are *ex-parte* statements; but Prynne's being the most coherent and consistent, and moreover supported by documentary evidence, is best adapted to our purpose. Those readers who feel a particular interest in the subject, will consult with advantage the above-mentioned pamphlet.

It is singular that so bigoted a partisan as Prynne should have been the indirect means of preserving Jersey for the king: he could little have contemplated such a result when exerting his influence in favour of the royalist governor; but quiets his conscience by asserting that "Parliament lost Jersey through the mismanagement of its friends;" unwilling to admit, nevertheless, his own share in bringing about the event. Indeed, had it not been for the friendship which he formed with Sir Philip, during his incarceration at Mont Orgueil, the latter would in all probability have been prevented from effecting his escape from London; in which case impeachment must have followed, and in all likelihood he

would have been brought to the block or lingered away existence in a state prison.

"I should have manifested myself a monster of ingratitude," says Prynne, "had I not contributed my best assistance to support Sir Philip's innocency, honour, and reputation, against the malicious and injurious accusations and aspersions of his inveterate backbiting enemies, who endeavoured only to defame him and to oust him of his offices of trust, that themselves might step into them."

All this was very proper and consistent before Sir Philip had openly espoused the royal cause: for Prynne, during his confinement at Mont Orgueil, may have been ignorant of his courteous and humane custodier's real political sentiments; or he may "have laid the flattering unction to his soul," that he had partially or entirely converted him to his own opinions. Under these impressions, and anxious to discharge a deep debt of gratitude, it was natural for him to support his friend to the utmost, when the reputation of that friend was at stake. But when he afterwards found the royalist governor maintaining the castles against the agents of the close committee, he may fairly be charged with inconsistency for continuing his champion during life, and for standing forth as his eulogist after death.[1] A solution to the enigma may perchance be found in the jealousy with which the old Presbyterian leader regarded the increasing power of the Independents.

[1] "Lyar Confounded."

CHAPTER II.

SIR PHILIP CARTERET MAINTAINS JERSEY CASTLES FOR THE KING—HIS OPPONENTS APPEAL TO PARLIAMENT—A COMMITTEE APPOINTED TO APPREHEND HIM—HE RETIRES TO THE FORTRESS—MAKES OVERTURES FOR PEACE—LEAGUER OF ELIZABETH CASTLE—SKIRMISHES BY LAND AND SEA—SIR PHILIP FALLS SICK—HIS PERSECUTORS RELENT—HIS DEATH.

CHEVALIER'S narrative commences early in 1643, about which time the Channel islanders, recognised no authority but that of his majesty in council. Unrepresented in the British senate, and having no direct interest in the contentions between Charles the First and his parliament, they chose of a sudden to embroil themselves in the troubles of the civil wars.

The puritanical sympathies of the preponderating party in Guernsey induced them to espouse the popular cause in England; to expatriate or overawe the staunch but loyal minority in their community; and to blockade the royalist governor in Castle Cornet. The natives of the sister island, less puritanical, less generally disaffected, were, at the same period, involved in rebellion by a few incendiaries; who, finding that Sir Philip Carteret had returned from London more formidable than ever, and that there was no other method of defeating him, solicited the aid of parliament, whose interference had hitherto been repudiated by every patriotic Jerseyman. Indifferent to constitutional principles, reckless

of consequences, and intent on nothing more than the gratification of personal animosity, they converted a local feud into general warfare.

Their dreaded and detested adversary, Sir Philip Carteret, in the mean time, under pretence of guarding against foreign invasion,[1] but in reality for the purpose of maintaining the island for his majesty, set about repairing and strengthening the fortifications; reinforced his garrisons with soldiers from the west of England; officered them, as well as the insular militia, with persons on whose loyalty and fidelity he could depend; and virtually set up the royal standard in the castles. Leaving his family at Mont Orgueil, and installing his lady as *chatelaine* of that fortress, he himself took up his abode at Elizabeth Castle, in the immediate vicinity of the town of St. Helier's,—the future scene of action.

From thence he watched the movements of his factious adversaries, whilst Sir Peter Osborne, from his still more isolated stronghold, reconnoitred the proceedings of the Guernsey malcontents: both governors exerting themselves at the same time to obtain store of provisions, arms, and ammunition, in anticipation of being ultimately, if not proximately, called upon to sustain a siege. The duty of commissary-general to

[1] The State-paper Office supplies the following "Note of Advice from Sir Phillip Carteret" to the English government in 1643:—

"The French kinge is now buildinge many Shippes, especially att a place called la Hougue, in Normandy. All the parishes of *Basse Normandie* are commanded by proclamation to goe with their carts, and carry timber there from all the forests, and every carte is to have 35 sols. a day.

"There is a fleete of 12 or 16 Shipps now to be sett out att St. Malo, partly att the King's, and partly att the Towne's charges. All shipps are arrested there, by proclamation, of what Country soever they bee."

the royalist forces in the islands devolved upon Sir Philip's nephew and son-in-law, who had for some time been acting in the same capacity for the king's army in the west of England.

Captain George Carteret at this time resides at St. Maloes, as "faciendary" for the king, judge of the admiralty court — selling such goods and ships as are taken from the parliament's friends; and with the proceeds purchasing warlike stores for the supply of their enemies. Apprised of the existing state of affairs in Jersey, he goes thither in a barque laden with provisions, and divers chests of arms, powder, ball, and match. The victuals are landed at Elizabeth Castle, but the chests of arms are transhipped in a craft previously freighted by Sir Philip, who furthermore adds, from the stores of the castle, sundry hogsheads of ammunition, for the service of the armies in the loyal west; whereat the Jersey faction loudly express their indignation.

Nevertheless, Captain Carteret conveys these warlike stores to Pendennis, and lands them in safety;[1] "Sir Philip saying he would not hinder him, having soe good a commission, and that he could not blame a servant for serving his majesty." A number of parliamentary merchantmen are at Falmouth, at this juncture—the vessels and cargoes declared lawful prizes, confiscated as such, and exposed for sale—having unawares run into a royalist port, unconscious of the changes that had taken place in the kingdom during their absence abroad. George Carteret invests capital

[1] The stores conveyed by Captain Carteret "to Sir Ralph Hopton in the west, who stood in very great neede of them, against the Earle of Stamford, occasioned the losse of the west, and great miseries to this kingdome;" namely, the defeat of Stamford at Stratton on the 5th of May, and its consequences.

largely in the purchase of prize goods; loads his vessel therewith, and returns to St. Maloes, where he sells or barters his merchandise for provisions. With these commodities he loads a couple of shallops, one of which he sends to Guernsey, the other to Jersey.

The latter reaches Elizabeth Castle without impediment, but the former, owing to treachery or mismanagement on the part of the crew, instead of landing its cargo at Castle Cornet, runs into the harbour of the parliamentary island, where unhappily the provisions, and despatches, destined for Sir Peter Osborne, fall into the hands of the rebels: a serious loss, and a double disappointment to the royalists, for not only from their being the losers, but their enemies becoming the gainers.

Sir Philip, finding that the disaffected party in Jersey, although as yet not numerous, were actively employed in recruiting partisans, deemed it high time to take measures for enkindling the torpid loyalty of the islanders. Unwilling, however, to infringe any constitutional custom by a direct appeal to the public, he officially, as bailiff and president of the states, convoked a meeting of the authorities, produced the patent containing his appointment as lieutenant-governor of the island and castles, and called upon the legislative body to assist him in fulfilling his majesty's commands.

"Anno 1642-3, the 16th of February. This day Sir Philip Carteret, knight, hath presented to the states a commission from his majesty under his royal signature as followeth:

"Trusty and well beloved wee Greet you well. Whereas upon consideration of the many occasions which our

Right Trustie and well beloved Counsellor, Sir Thomas Jermin, Knight, Governour of our Island of Jersey, hath here, as well for our service as his owne particular; Wee have bene gratiously pleased upon his humble suite, to dispense with his personal residence in his said Government;[1] Wee therefore in the approved fidellity and affection to us, and well knowing the abilitie for discharging that place, doe by these presents authorize our Lieftenant of our said Island to supply the charge and Government of our said Isle, during our Governor's absence, and that you take the same accordingly unto your custody, together with the command and charge of all our Castles and Forts there, and that you imploy the utmost industry and endeavours to preserve the same for us, and our service, and not to deliver the command or charge thereof to any person without special Warrant under Our Hand; Willing and requiring the Bailiff and Jurates and all others, officers and inhabitants of our said Island, upon their allegiance to us, to obey and observe our orders and directions, as Lieftenant Governour there in whatsoever concerns our service in that island, as they will answer the contrary at their perill, hereof you may not faile; for which this shall be your sufficient Warrant. Given at our Castle at Winsor the 4th day of January in the yeare of our Reigne, 1641-2.

"To our Right Trusty and well Beloved
Sir Philip Carteret, Knight, Liefte-
nant Governor of our Island of Jersey."

[1] The State-paper Office contains a letter from Charles I. (Dec. 22, 1631), dispensing with Sir Thomas Jermyn's residence, in consequence of his being vice-chamberlain of the household, and in consideration of his attendance and services at court.

After this document had been read, the lieutenant-governor ordered it to be entered in the records, and then, addressing the states, exhorted them to do their duty in accordance with his majesty's directions; pointing out to them the evils which must result from disobedience, and warning them that the intervention of any other authority than that of the privy council must end in the total overthrow of their long cherished institutions. The states, at their president's requisition, immediately issued proclamations, inviting the islanders to swear allegiance to King Charles; and threatening to denounce as traitors all who refused to take the oath.

These proceedings, however justifiable on the part of the lieutenant-governor, were injudiciously dictatorial, and far from producing the desired effect, only served to hasten the impending crisis. The people, apprehensive of provoking either hostile faction, refrained from any open declaration, but gradually allied themselves with the dean's party, to avoid the persecutions of the royalist officials, who swaggered about the streets displaying the motto, "Vive le Roi!" upon their hats; their clothes decorated with ribbons of the genuine loyal colour. Whether the incipient rebels assumed equally distinctive badges, such as the twists of paper and whisps of straw, does not appear on record. At all events, the breach between the factions was widened, the epithets *bien affectioné*, and *refractaire*, the first equivalent to "roundhead," the second to "malignant," were reproachfully bestowed by one party on the other; and thus the external characters, to say the least, of the great civil war extended to Jersey.

The ringleaders of the *bien affectionés*, in order to

undeceive parliament with respect to Sir Philip, gave information that, immediately on his "return to Jersey, he began to manifest himself in his malignity," by sending supplies of arms to the royalists in the west; and by endeavouring, with the assistance of his malignant officers, to withdraw the affection of the people from the parliament, "declaring those traitors who would not declare themselves of his party. Whereupon the committee of the safety of the kingdome sent a commission to certaine gentlemen, justices of that island, to apprehend him, and to send him to the parliament, to answer to his treacherous actions." The Earl of Stamford was likewise appointed to supersede Sir Thomas Jermyn in the government of Jersey, and the Earl of Scudamore to replace Lord Danby in that of Guernsey.[1]

A commission almost identical with the one above alluded to, authorized the seizure of Sir Peter Osborne. Both documents were transmitted in the first place to Guernsey, where the authorities immediately attempted to put theirs in force; but Sir Peter being on his guard, baffled their endeavours to entrap him; and wrote over to his brother governor, giving him notice of what he had to expect. In a short time the other commission was brought to Jersey by a certain Charles Marrett, but the local committee therein named refrained from publishing the news of its arrival for some time, not knowing precisely how to give effect to it, in consequence of the imposing attitude assumed by Sir Philip Carteret. They meanwhile referred "to the

[1] These arrangements, however, were not carried into effect, the Earl of Warwick being in a short time appointed by Parliament as Chief Governor over all the Channel Islands.

high court of parliament for further directions, and petitioned that a chief commander might be sent over to regulate the militia, and rectify the bench and course of justice." For the better understanding of what follows, it will be necessary to insert this document at full length.

"Die Jovis, 16° Feb. 1642-3.

"At the committee for the safety of the kingdom.

"By virtue of an order of the lords and commons in parliament, we do hereby authorize and require Mr. De La Hague, Mr. Sammares, Mr. Maphant,[1] Mr. Bisson, and Mr. Herault, justices of the peace in the isle of Jersey, them and every of them jointly and severally, by the counsel and help of those of the said island who stand well affected to the king and parliament, to the maintenance of the Protestant religion, the laws and liberties of the kingdom, and privileges of parliament, to apprehend the person of Sir Philip Carteret, knight, lieutenant-governor of the island, and bring him to the parliament, to answer to such conspiracies, oppressions and other crimes, as shall be objected against him; as likewise to seize upon all money, plate, jewels and ordonnances, ammunitions and arms, and to cause such money, plate and jewels to be carefully inventoried and kept in safe hand, to the use of the said Sir Philip Carteret, till he shall receive his judgement and trial in parliament; and the ordnance, ammunition and arms, to be kept and employed for the defence of the said

[1] Territorial epithets similar to those applied to Scotch lairds; Mr. De la Hague's real name was Francis de Carteret; Mr. Sammares Henry Du Maresq; and Mr. Maphant, Michael Lempriere, Seigneur de Mauphant.

island, in such manner as shall be agreed upon by the inhabitants, till they may receive further directions of the lords and commons in parliament.

"It is likewise ordered and appointed that the said Mr. de la Hague,[1] Mr. Sammares, Mr. de Maphant, Mr. Bisson, and Mr. Herault, shall have power with the counsel, consent, and assistance of the inhabitants by force of arms, to oppose and suppress all tumults and factions which may be raised in the said island in aid and defence of said Sir Philip Carteret, or in opposing the order and authority of parliament, or otherwise to the disturbance of the peace of that island; and to suspend from the execution of their charges and offices of command, all persons who have confederated with the said Sir Philip Carteret in the conspiracies, oppressions and crimes afore-mentioned, or who shall any way resist or oppose the aforesaid justices in the execution of this order, and to arrest and imprison such persons as they shall see cause.

"It is further ordered and required, that the deputy bailiff of the said Sir Philip Carteret, with the jurats, captains, constables, and others, officers of all his majesty's loving subjects whatsoever in the said island, upon notice of this order, do forbear to obey the command and authority of the said Sir Philip Carteret, or any other substituted by him; and that by aiding and assisting to the above said justices, or to any of them jointly or severally, and such other well affected inhabitants as shall join with them in the execution of this order, as they will answer to the contrary at their perils.

[1] This Francis de Carteret, probably from being a kinsman of Sir Philip's, never co-operated cordially with the rest of his colleagues in the commission.

And the aforesaid justices, and all other persons who shall be herein aiding and assisting to them, shall for their so doing be protected and defended by the power and authority of the parliament.

" MANCHESTER. JOHN PYM.
" PH. STAPLETON. JOHN HAMPDEN."
" W. SAY AND SEALE.

His majesty having received intimation of the appointment of a revolutionary committee, and the nomination of Lord Stamford, without loss of time, caused an instrument to be prepared, which Chevalier properly enough denominates a commission of array, addressed to the lieutenant-governor, bailiff and jurats of the royal court of Jersey. Sir Philip, on the receipt of this document, appointed a day, towards the end of March, for officially communicating to his little parliament the contents of the royal mandate. Relying on the strength and cordial support of his own party, and deeming that, as his adversaries had not promulgated their warrant, either too timid or too feeble to oppose him openly, he on the day of meeting proceeded to the court-house, escorted by thirty or forty soldiers of the garrison, whom he posted at the doors, and in various parts of the hall of assembly. This precautionary measure, strictly in accordance with ancient and approved custom, was afterwards objected to by his enemies as a despotic innovation: unpalatable to them, no doubt, as it frustrated their design of apprehending him during the proceedings, or at their termination.

At the opening of the sitting the greffier, in due course, proceeded to read the Commission of Array. He was suddenly interrupted by Michael Lempriere,

the only one of the five committee-men bold enough to face the meeting. Rising in his place, he resolutely objected to the publication of the royal letter; insisting that the parliamentary warrant—a copy of which he tendered—should form the basis of deliberation, and that, in accordance with its requisitions, the lieutenant-governor should be arrested, *seance tenante*, and sent prisoner to London in order that he might "purge himself before the House of Commons of the charges formerly exhibited against him," and of other acts of malignity more recently perpetrated by him.

Sir Philip adroitly evaded the brunt of this vehement tirade by ordering the original warrant to be produced, alleging, that the copy presented by Lemprière was neither more nor less than a base fabrication. The members of the states, taking their cue from the president, rejected the parliamentary paper *in toto*, and unanimously persisted in calling for the king's letter.

Lemprière, protesting furiously against this decision, attempted to rush out of the court-house, for the purpose, as it was surmised, of raising the populace; but his egress was opposed by the sentries at the doors, who, presenting their swords and halberts at his breast, drove him back into the assembly, where he was forced to remain whilst the following document was being read:—

"Charles Rex.

"Well-beloved and trusty counsellors,

"The great distractions and calamities that this our kingdom of England at present suffereth, by the falsity, disloyalty of certain factious and ambitious spirits,

which by themselves, and some of the ministry whom they have gained to themselves, do disperse lies against our person, council, and government, which makes us most sensible to provide in like manner in all parts of our dominions, hearing how those malicious spirits who have drawn those calamities upon this kingdom, begin to be hearkened unto in our Island of Jersey; and that upon a supposed false report the present governor, our dear and well-beloved counsellor, Sir Thomas Jermyn, is put out of his charge of governor, and the Earl of Stamford assigned unto it, many of our subjects begin to withdraw their subjection and obedience from him, and from his deputy, the which be our lieutenant and represents us; which information has moved us to direct our letters jointly, as well unto you our governor, your deputy, as also to the lieutenant-bailly and jurats of that our island; that as we have always had in singular care, we shall have to preserve the ancient government of the Church among them, with their liberties, persons, and estates, without any innovation or alteration whatsoever, according to the laws and customs of the said isle, by which they may enjoy the blessing of a long peace, the which they have enjoyed under us and our predecessors. But in case that any particular person, for we have of late had too much experience of the like spirits, do reject, either in his own person or attempt to withdraw others to disobedience against our just command, and the authority of our governor and of his deputy; we command you, our governor, your deputy, lieutenant-bailly, and jurats, to apprehend and put in close prison such malefactors, and to proceed against them with all expedition and security according to the laws; and upon any insurrection and disloyalty, we require

you, our governor and your deputy, to subjugate such persons by martial power who shall raise against our authority, by any disloyal attempt. And we expect that you our governor, and you our magistrates, shall have such care, and shall give one the other such assistance, that the peace and loyalty of our island be maintained; of which we have had, and shall always have, a very great care, knowing how much it imports both unto you and to us that, by factions, advantage be not given to the designs of strangers.

" Given at our Court the 18th of our reign."

A stormy and outrageous scene ensued. The governor declared that it was his determination to obey his majesty's orders to the letter; to maintain the island and the castles for his service alone, and to resist all extraneous interference: asserting emphatically that the islanders recognised the authority of the privy council alone, and disclaimed that of the parliament entirely. He then called upon the members of the states to assist him in persuading the inhabitants to declare, without further delay, in favour of the king. Lemprière, with great decision and courage, replied that it was not at all necessary for the people to make any open declaration of their political sentiments; he insisted on Sir Philip's giving himself up in conformity with the mandate of the committee of safety; and told him that, by so unequivocally espousing the royal cause, he was guilty of gross inconsistency. This so incensed the lieutenant-governor, that he called Lemprière traitor and apostate; and commanded the officers of the court to drag him from the bench and eject him from the hall as a renegade. Lemprière, with unabated firmness,

demanded an explanation of the opprobrious epithets that had been applied to him, whereupon Carteret retorted, "For desiring to have a governor who has been denounced as a traitor by his king"—alluding to the Earl of Stamford.

In the meantime, it being rumoured abroad that Lemprière was forcibly detained in the court-house, and that his liberty and life were probably in danger, James Stocal,[1] one of the militia colonels, mounted his horse, and riding throughout the parish of St. Saviour's, exhorted the inhabitants to arm and come to the rescue. Henry Dumaresq, one of the committee, had gone early in the morning to raise the people of St. Clement's, in anticipation of resistance to the execution of the warrant, and for the purpose of seizing upon the governor as he left the court-house. Dumaresq and Stocal meeting, united their forces, and directed their steps towards the town; but before their arrival, Sir Philip, fortunately apprised by some of his friends that a detachment of disaffected militia was at hand, immediately dismissed the states, and, escorted by his body-guard, retreated hastily to Elizabeth Castle. Had he awaited the arrival of the troops, his small escort must have been easily overpowered; he would have been apprehended and sent to England; an impeachment before parliament would have been the result, and he would have stood the chance either of being brought to the block, or imprisoned for life. As it was, he was virtually imprisoned

[1] Stocal appears to have been a staunch parliamentarian throughout the succeeding troubles, for in 1652 we find him bearing despatches from his friend Michael Lemprière to the Speaker of the House of Commons. Appendix A.

in the castle, and never again set foot in the town of St. Helier.

A few days after Sir Philip's retreat to the castle, he caused the commission of array to be publicly proclaimed throughout the country; and his captains and other officers having declared their determination to support the authority of the lieutenant-governor against his enemies, and those of the crown, whether foreign or domestic, invited the rest of the militia to subscribe a similar declaration. But the committee, no longer held in awe by the immediate presence of the governor, inspired the soldiers and other inhabitants with so much dread of incurring the displeasure of parliament, that few of them durst venture openly to declare in favour of the royal cause. In order to render the king and his representative in Jersey as obnoxious as possible, rumours were industriously circulated among the populace of the most insidious character and injurious tendency. It was represented that the queen, being a Papist, and her husband entirely under her influence, the overthrow of the Protestant Church and the revival of popery was contemplated by them. The committee likewise caused their charges against Sir Philip, translated into the vernacular, with comments of their own, to be printed in London, ostensibly by command of the House of Commons, and then circulated in the island. These libellous and unfounded reports, especially that potent war-cry, "The Church in danger," determined many well-disposed but over-credulous and timid individuals, to disloyalty, so that in a short time numbers of the islanders, townsmen as well as peasantry, joined the ranks of the *soi-disant* patriots—the well-affected party, as they called themselves.

Whilst this was going on, Sir Philip, apprehensive of being arrested if he ventured into the town, convened the states to assemble at the fortress. His civil deputy, the lieutenant-bailiff, many of the jurats, the militia commanders, and other officers still remained faithful to him, but very few of the clergy obeyed the summons. After much deliberation the states prepared two addresses; one to the king and privy council, the other to the king in parliament, of which the following is the substance.

Taking into consideration the warrant of the close committee for the apprehension of Sir Philip, as well as his majesty's commission conferring on him authority to array the militia, and maintain the fortresses, they were determined to abide by the injunctions of the latter, rather than yield obedience to the former. They represented, however, that in order to reconcile differences between the adverse parties, and to preserve tranquillity, the lieutenant-governor offered to enter into a sufficient bond to answer any charges that might be brought against him, before the king and parliament, either in England, or in Jersey by special commission, but not before parliament without the king: provided always that his majesty should think fit to appoint a substitute during his absence from duty; and that his accusers should give assurance for his personal security, in the event of the impeachment not being sustained.

These documents were conveyed to London by a certain John Le Couteur, who on his arrival, falling in with some Jersey men of the adverse party, incautiously confessed to them that he was the bearer of letters from Sir Philip to Mr. Pym, together with addresses from the states to the house of commons; and sought their

advice as to the readiest mode of delivering his despatches: His treacherous countrymen, far from affording him assistance, betrayed his errand to the rebels, and denounced him as a spy sent over by the malignant governor of Jersey. He was in consequence apprehended by a messenger from the house, his papers were seized, and he was detained in custody above three months. It required the most strenuous exertions on the part of Prynne to obtain his release, and that not before he had been put to much trouble and expense.

The application on the part of the states having thus proved abortive, another scheme was devised between Sir Philip and his friend Prynne, which promised better results, and afforded the prospect of relieving the persecuted governor from the long pending impeachment. The design was now to obtain the appointment of a royal commission of *oyer and terminer*, to decide in Jersey the questions at issue, without the intervention of the parliament; this was perfectly constitutional as well as practicable, being founded on precedent occurring in the year 1617; and was moreover ingeniously contrived to circumvent the intrigues of Carteret's enemies; as, he being in possession of the castles, could resist caption if found guilty, and if acquitted, become more formidable than ever.

The persons nominated as commissioners were, Mr. Prynne himself, Sir Peter Osborne, and Captain Nathaniel Darell, his second in command at Castle Cornet. There could be little question as to the decision of a commission so constituted; but, on its being presented for approval by Osmonde Cook, to Charles the First at Oxford, his majesty, taking offence at the mention of Prynne's name, refused to sign the document: and

thus through his peevish obstinacy, the royal cause suffered, and one of its most strenuous supporters ultimately became its victim.

Prynne's own version of the affair is somewhat at variance with the above statement. "About the same time," he says, "one Osmonde Cooke, a souldier of Mount Orguile Castle, who attended on me in my chamber, during all the time of my close imprisonment there, came into England meerly upon his own private bussinesse, to recover a house and some lands in Beccles, devised to him by his uncle. Returning into Jersey from hence, he was in his passage thither, by these malicious persons' informations, seized in the western parts as a spye to Sir Philip, sent up prisoner to London by sea, and there detained in custody divers months: notwithstanding there was no proof of anything against him, but mere suggestions behinde his backe, the which to my knowledge were false."[1]

Sir Philip, while in a state of uncertainty as to the result of these several appeals, strove to induce his adversaries in Jersey to enter into some sort of compromise, in order to avert calamities, "the bare contemplation of which made his heart bleed." He accordingly wrote to his kinsman, Monsieur De la Hague (Francis Carteret), as follows, inferring, from the moderation he had hitherto evinced, that he might be inclined to soften the vindictive spirit of the other members of the committee:—

"Monsieur de la Hague,

"I recently apprised you in private discourse, of my earnest desire to preserve the peace of this island, and

[1] The Lyar Confounded.

thereby avert the ruin with which it is threatened by domestic dissensions. I invited you to aid me by every means in your power, and gave you my word that I would do everything that might justly be required of me. I have received no answer from the committee, but nevertheless perceive that the evils which I dreaded are fast approaching, and that personal interests and feelings so work upon the people, that the most fatal results are to be apprehended—the bare contemplation of which, as God is my witness, makes my heart bleed.

"I therefore in this letter, as often before by word of mouth, beseech you to assist me in calming these troubles—a duty we owe to the Almighty, as well as to posterity. Aware of your influence over those who are joined with you in commission,—entertaining no doubt of your fidelity to the king, and your affection towards your country, I conjure you, in the name of all that is most sacred and dear to you, to unite with me, the lieutenant-bailiff and the jurats, in administering justice to all,—punishing the mutinous, keeping the inhabitants firm in obedience to the laws, and in seeking to convince them that neither they nor you are justified in uniting with any political party out of the island; in obtaining the aid of strange soldiers; or in executing any commission incompatible with our constitutions.

"God forbid that I should allow private interests to interfere with public duties. In accordance with this sentiment, I have offered to answer before parliament any charges that may be brought against me, as soon as his majesty shall have appointed some other person to replace me in my government, and in the charge of the castles. But in the event of your considering this course too tardy, I hereby engage to embark on board one of

the parliament's vessels stationed off Guernsey: provided that the states will take upon themselves so to supply my place, that the island and its forts shall be maintained inviolate for his majesty.

"You are anxious to secure my person, and would gain by force that which I concede voluntarily, being constrained thereunto by no legal obligation. If any among you, blinded by passion, believe that you have received private injury at my hands, I am willing to give all satisfaction in my power, either by submitting to the course of justice, or by agreeing to private compromise. If I have done anything prejudicial to the public welfare, I am ready to submit to any penalty the states may think proper to inflict; and, if nothing but dismissal from my posts will satisfy the people, I am ready to resign my commissions into the hands of his majesty; trusting to the justice of the laws for the preservation of my life. But if all these concessions will not suffice to appease your wrath—if by injurious reports, and unfounded rumours, you continue to inflame the minds of the people, alienating them from their allegiance, and seeking to identify them with the disaffected party in England, I wash my hands of the consequences, and protest against the practices of those who incite these commotions.

"Finally, if you desire to enter into personal conference with me, I pray you to appoint a time and place, at which, God willing, I will meet you; giving you all assurance for the safety of your persons, but requiring the like indulgence at your hands. Awaiting your speedy reply,

Your very affectionate,

PH. CARTERET, Lieut.-Gov^r.

"Elizabeth Castle, April the 18th, 1643."

Day after day elapsed without any reply from the committee; it was, therefore, evident to Sir Philip that any further attempt at direct negotiation would, for the present, prove unavailing. Driven by his anxieties and necessities to seek information by other means, he sent some of his soldiers daily into the town, under pretence of purchasing provisions, secretly to obtain intelligence of what was going on, from public rumour, or other sources. He likewise entrusted his military messengers with letters to former friends and covert adherents, soliciting their interference and good offices in bringing about a reconciliation. Several undertook the task, but their remonstrances were treated with contempt, the only answer they could obtain, being a recommendation that Sir Philip should repair to London, and deliver himself up to the parliament, "that he might be purged of his crimes." This was done under the hope of inducing him to quit the castle, in order that they might obtain possession of that fortress, as well as Mont Orgueil, and thus make themselves masters of the whole island, which in that case would have come under the sway of the English rebels.

The populace becoming aware of the frequent transmission of letters from the castle, were clamorous to be made acquainted with their contents, or, at least, to learn their purport. But the committee, abetted by the dean, and d'Assigny, anxious to conceal the conciliatory disposition manifested by the governor, withheld the truth, stating that any communication from him was to be viewed with distrust, he being in fact a thorough malignant, the bitterest enemy of their lives and liberties. Thus misled, the indignation of the townspeople became intense; and at the instigation of their demagogue leaders, they were easily induced

to resort to extreme measures against Sir Philip. For this purpose ramparts were thrown up within the cemetery, on which cannon were planted, a ditch was dug beyond the walls, and it was speedily converted into a battery, commanding the approaches to the castle, and threatening *la terre de l'Islet.*

These warlike preparations so provoked the governor, that he caused his ordnance to play over the pioneers, but more for the purpose of intimidation, and interrupting the progress of the works, than to injure the workmen. He nevertheless resorted to these comparatively harmless measures with extreme reluctance, and in order to put an end, if possible, to the necessity for resuming them, wrote to the lieutenant-bailiff, and jurats, requesting their mediation. Expressing his determination to persevere in his duty to the king, the parliament, and the community of Jersey, he lamented that, after forty years of public service, he should have survived his popularity, and lived to see the prosperity of the island placed in jeopardy by the selfish acts of a few ambitious individuals. He exhorted the jurats to do their utmost in restoring tranquillity; pointing out to them that the inhabitants of Jersey were not called upon to take a part in the unhappy differences existing between the king and his parliament, and that, far from interfering in the quarrel, it was more consistent with their duty as faithful subjects, to pray that the Almighty would vouchsafe to restore peace to a distracted kingdom.

These remonstrances, presented to the royal court, and by that body ordered to be promulgated throughout the country parishes, were no more regarded by the committee than former communications. Sir Philip thereupon reiterated his protest against their factious

proceedings, and cast the blame of any disasters that might accrue, even to the shedding of blood, upon the heads of those who repulsed his overtures, and neglected his repeated warnings. He then sent a verbal message by one of his orderlies to the committee and their supporters, requesting them to confer with him, under mutual assurances of personal safety, midway between the castle and the town, on a certain day and hour. This proposal also was disregarded by the dean and his party, who took a malignant pleasure in tormenting their already perplexed adversary.

About the same time, the end of April, an encounter took place off Jersey, between two vessels belonging to the rebels and a royalist frigate, commanded by Captain Jones, sailing under a roving commission from Sir Ralph Hopton. Having captured a French barque near Guernsey, Jones was descried by Captains Bowden and Copping, whose vessels were constantly stationed there for the purpose of protecting that island, and keeping Castle Cornet in check. He was immediately pursued, but outsailing them, ran for protection under the guns of Mont Orgueil castle. Here he lay for a few days, closely watched by the enemy in the offing: at length, with the assistance of a Jersey pilot, he contrived, by hugging the coast, to make his way through intricate channels into the bay of St. Aubin's; but not being well assured of the treatment he might receive from the people in this part of the island, he despatched his boats to St. Aubin's tower and took possession of that fort. In a short time the enemy's frigates also came into the bay, and opened a fire upon him, to which he replied from his own guns and those of the recently captured fort. His pursuers finding that they had much to lose and nothing to gain by

persevering, put about and returned crest-fallen to Guernsey.

After their departure, Jones appropriated to his own use the powder and bullets found in the fort, "tumbled down three pieces of ordnance which he had shott against Captain Copping, brake to pieces their carriages," and then crossed the bay to Elizabeth Castle, where he, his officers, and his crew, were well received and feasted by Sir Philip Carteret, who fully approved of his conduct. In a day or two being ready for sea on his return to Cornwall, he was conveyed on board his frigate by the castle boat, with a guard of soldiers under the orders of Mr. Hungerford, master porter of the fortress. Before getting under weigh, Jones ordered a salute to be fired in honour of the governor at whose hands he had received such good entertainment; but owing to carelessness, a shotted gun was discharged amid those loaded with blank cartridge, whereby a man was killed in the crowded castle boat, and another maimed for life.

Ever since his detention at Elizabeth Castle, no meeting had taken place between Sir Philip and his lady, the latter of whom was invested in the castle of Mont Orgueil, by the militia of the neighbouring parishes, and prevented from going to her husband or receiving his visits. The only intercourse between them was by sea, and this extremely uncertain and precarious, in consequence of the vigilance with which the insurgents intercepted boats passing from one castle to the other. Fearful, however, that more active operations might soon be undertaken against the old castle, and anxious to concert measures with his courageous wife, as to the best means of providing for defence in the event of an attack, he resolved, at all

hazards, to leave his own fortress, and cross the country to visit the other. Having selected a dozen cavaliers, the boldest and most trustworthy of his adherents, some time after night-fall, early in the month of May, he issued forth with his small escort, armed with sword, carbine, and pistol, and well mounted. Making a considerable *détour*, to avoid falling in with the enemy's patrols, they rode forward and arrived without interruption at Mont Orgueil.

The rebel committee, however, apprised of his expedition and its destination, hastened to assemble their followers at the presbytery, the residence of Monsieur d'Assigny, to take measures for arresting Sir Philip on his way back.

D'Assigny, who for some time had assumed the functions of a military leader, caused the tocsin to sound from the steeple of his church, ordered the drums to beat an alarm, and soon assembled a body of armed men, sufficient to have overwhelmed a whole squadron of dragoons, instead of a small troop of thirteen cavaliers. Marshalling his forces, he harangued and exhorted them to use their utmost vigilance, in order to seize the governor, dead or alive; stating that such an opportunity was not to be neglected, and that it might never again occur. He then commanded the attendance of the *vingtenier*, the identical Jean Chevalier, whose journal furnishes the text of this narrative, and ordered him to deliver up the keys of the parish arsenal, which contained field guns, arquebuses, pikes, and ammunition, in order that the rebels might obtain arms, not only for present, but for future use. But Chevalier, penetrating his design, and anxious if possible to prevent the effusion of blood, refused to part with the keys; whereupon one Philip le Bouthillier

threatened to run him through the body with his sword. Nevertheless, the gallant official persisted in his refusal, and the magazine was not at that time opened. "Moi vingtenier," writes our journalist, "connoisant le sujet pourquoi c'etoit faire, et que cela pourrait tourner à effusion de sang en une telle rencontre, je ne voullus pas leurs donner les clefs du magazin, ni mettre dehors les piques."

D'Assigny, however, intent on gaining possession of the arms, powder, and match stored in the arsenal, with the assistance of Le Boutillier, and a certain André Durel, under sanction of two of the committee, caused the door of the magazine to be forced open, and the whole of the contents to be conveyed to his presbytery, where they were kept at hand for distribution. He also required the constable or captain of the parish to give up some drums in his possession; and on his refusing, caused them to be forcibly seized, and taken to the pastoral arsenal, the rector assuming thenceforth the functions of vingtenier, constable, and commander-in-chief of the insurgent forces.

While these affairs were being transacted, the governor managed to elude the vigilance of his pursuers, to their great rage and disappointment. Instead of returning the same night, as they expected, he dismissed the greater part of his escort, with orders that they should return to the new castle singly, and by different routes. Having slept at Mont Orgueil, he set out the following day, slightly attended, and by circuitous paths succeeded in regaining his retreat in Elizabeth Castle, without recognition on the part of his enemies, who not knowing when to look for his return, were no longer on the watch.

As Peter d'Assigny, the above-mentioned member of

the church militant, will be a prominent actor in the events which follow, some previous account of him becomes necessary. He is said to have been originally a monk, or priest, who for some cause or other flying from France, his native country, sought refuge in Jersey, where he became a convert, ostensibly, at least, to Protestantism. On his first arrival, almost in a state of destitution, he was treated with great humanity and kindness by Sir Philip, who afforded him assistance of all kinds; did him the honour of standing sponsor for one of his children; obtained for him the valuable living of St. Heliers; and continued to the last to shower benefits upon him. Just before his final retreat to the castle, the governor, after attending service in his church, called at the rectory to inquire after his wife, who happened to be, as ladies often are, "as well as could be expected." On this occasion d'Assigny professed the greatest devotion to his honoured patron, vowing, by all he held sacred, to oppose any attempt on the part of the recently appointed committee to arrest his person. Some unrecorded circumstance, however, causing a rupture between them; the deadliest hatred was engendered in the rector's breast; and, although previously at variance with the dean, their mutual animosity towards their common benefactor effected a reconciliation between them; after the manner of Herod and Pilate, they united in persecuting him to the hour of his death—a sad exemplification of the ancient proverb:—

"Poignez vilain et il vous ointdra,
Ointez vilain, et il vous poindra."

In lieu of the royal commission formerly solicited by the governor, a proclamation was now transmitted

from the court at Oxford, directing him to offer his majesty's most gracious pardon for past transgressions, to all his Jersey subjects, with certain specified exceptions. The intentions of those who advised the measure were, doubtless, highly laudable; but, as the act of amnesty excluded the dean and the members of the parliamentary committee; and as the means adopted for promulgating the pardon were peculiarly infelicitous, the result was mischievous; producing direct collision between the adverse factions, and preventing all chance of future reconciliation.

The vicomte Lawrence Hamptonne was directed by the governor to publish the proclamation at the usual spot, in the market-place, on a Saturday, the market-day, when the square was crowded with buyers and sellers from all parts of the town and country. A detachment of cavaliers from the castle, well mounted, and armed to the teeth, under the command of Captain Lane, an English officer, recently attached to the garrison, was sent to accompany and protect the sheriff. As he was making preparations for reading the royal mandate, a great concourse of people crowded round him, for no other purpose than the gratification of curiosity. But Captain Lane, unacquainted with the habits of the islanders, took alarm at the sudden rush of the multitude; and, apprehensive of a serious affray, ordered his party to draw their swords, unsling their carbines, and prepare for a defensive retreat to the castle; the sheriff, on the other hand, startled at seeing the escort in battle array, hastened to escape in another direction with his civic followers. The populace, terrified at the threatening aspect of the military, also took to flight; rushed towards the avenues, jostling and overthrowing each other; overturning the booths

and stalls of the tradespeople; and finally escaping, "each and his fear a several way." The cavaliers in the meantime set spurs to their horses and galloped back to the castle, reporting to Sir Philip that a riot had taken place, and that the sheriff, interrupted in the discharge of his duty, had fled, no one knew whither.

This slight affair, nevertheless, led to more important results. Sir Philip, misled by Captain Lane's exaggerated version, assembled a council of war, and by the advice of his officers resolved to cannonade the town, for the purposes of intimidating the supposed rioters, and keeping the committee in check. The crash of cannon shot, which soon after this order battered their dwellings, naturally excited much commotion among the townspeople; at the sound of the tocsin, the militia flew to arms in all quarters, in anticipation of a sortie from the fortress, and determined to do their best to repulse the assailants. Nor were their anticipations groundless, for, in a short time, a company of fifty foot soldiers, with a couple of mounted officers at their head, were seen to issue from the castle gate, and advance along the causeway, drums beating, colours flying.

The council of war, assembled at the castle, imagined that it would be an easy matter for a small party of infantry, under cover of the cannonade, to penetrate into the town, and seize upon the ringleaders of the faction; who, once captured, might be detained as hostages, so as to ensure more successful negotiation in future. But the cavaliers had sadly miscalculated, for by this time great numbers of the militia were under arms, and, aided by the rest of the citizens, had formed a barricade across the western avenue of the town,

on which was planted a small piece of ordnance. Aware, at length, that their hitherto despised adversaries were better prepared than they imagined, the assailants advanced cautiously, sheltered by the bank of a rivulet, until within pistol-shot of the barricade; intending, after a volley from their arquebuses, to carry the defences by assault. Their fire was returned by brisk discharges from the field-piece and the musketeers behind the barricade; the resistance impeded the attack, and no advantage was gained by either party. While this skirmish was going on in front, another party of the townspeople made a detour. Screened by intervening walls and fences, they fell unexpectedly upon the enemy in flank, wounded an officer and several soldiers, threw the rest into confusion, and soon put the whole to flight. The officer who was severely injured in the arm, and unhorsed in consequence, would inevitably have been killed had not his men, bearing him off the field, effected a rapid retreat back to the castle: leaving a number of matchlocks and rests, together with several swords and other weapons, as spoils to the conquerors.

The following extracts from Sir Philip's letters are interesting, as they afford more ample, and, as it were, official details of the skirmish:—

"Sir Philip Carteret to Sir Peter Osborne.[1]

"Noble Sir,

"You shall hear by your letters how that Mr. Henry Osborne your son arrived in the road the 10th of the last, and brought over with him some provisions, and thirty-eight men, whereof some boys and some sick; intended, as he told me, the one half for you, the other

[1] Written in English. *Osborne Papers.*

to remain in the castles (here), for which he would send order from St. Maloes, whither he returned, staying here one night and two days, and is long since gone to England, where I hope he is happily arrived.—Some four or five days before he came hither, here arrived four gentlemen from St. Maloes, who seeking a passage for Cornwall, and finding none, Captain Carteret persuaded to come hither till a passage did offer; the one Mr. Mohun, my Lord Mohun's brother, Serjeant Major Garnier, a gentleman belonging to her majesty, Captain Legg, brother to him with the king, and one Captain Lynes.[1] These three last had served in the French wars, the two first returned with Mr. Osborne, the two captains I persuaded to stay here.

"It so chanced that the 11th of the last, I intended a proclamation which I sent to our viscount, enjoining the people not to take up arms with the factious, but to live in peace under the obedience of his majesty's authority; in which doing I did take them all in his majesty's peace and protection, remitting the authors of the disorders past to his majesty's good pleasure, and gracious pardon if they did surcease, else I declared them for rebels, and disloyal to the king, naming a few of the chief of them. The viscount making some difficulty to proclaim this, these gentlemen and Mr. Osborne would needs be present to assist him, and sat on horseback in the market-place with their pistols at their saddle. The proclamation began, the people flocked to hear it, but the rebels having caused the bell to be rung out, the people dispersed themselves, the townsmen took arms, so that the viscount and gentlemen retired hither.

[1] Probably Captain Lane, who escorted the viscount in the market-place.

"This insolency and a scornful answer of a message I sent to the town so incensed your son, and the gentlemen, that they drew out of the Cornishmen and of the garrison's soldiers forty-two of the ablest, themselves on horseback, colours displayed, and drum beating, marched towards the town, about three or four in the afternoon. —When they (the rebels) rung their bell, fired the beacon, and having shut up the entry with boards and fagots, and lined the houses and outwalls with musketeers, and drawn down two of their field-pieces, played upon our men, who could not approach but open and uncovered, they themselves hid and not to be seen. The bridge of the castle being near shut, our men were fain to resign; of whom three were wounded, Mr. Gwinett for one, who now are all recovered. Mr. Mohun borrowed my son's horse, he himself went on foot with a musket; his stirrup breaking in the skirmish, he alighted from his horse, and let him go, who running to the town, and Gwinett's pistol being taken up by them, which he let fall, being hurt in the arm, the rebels gave out that my son was killed, and have writ it over to France. This is the passage of this action, somewhat too venturous, and to which I was persuaded by those who had more experience in martial affairs than I. * * *

"PHILIP CARTERET."

"Castle Elizabeth, this 5th July, 1643."

Sir Philip Carteret to Lady Carteret in Mont Orgueil Castle:[1]

"SWEETHEART,

"Mr. Osborne, Mr. Mohun, and Sergeant-Major Garnier are gone for St. Maloes.—Mr. Osborne would fain try his men, as likewise the others, to attempt

[1] This letter was found in the messenger's shoes, by the agents of the *bien affectionés*.

somewhat before they went, and we set out with some forty men to attempt the town. Those of the town had brought their ordnance to the entries, and filled the houses and walls with musketeers; I caused some pieces of ordnance to be shot over the town to fright them; the bridge being upon shutting, our men were fain to return. We have had a Cornishman dangerously hurt, Mr. Gwinett slightly hurt in the arm, without offending the bone, or any but the flesh, Edward du Bois hurt in the thigh. I could have wished it had not been, but they cried upon me, that delays did spoil all, and all the commanders would have been gone, whereof I have stayed two.—I could wish we were all in peace, so that the dean and d'Assigny were sent out of the country.—We shall now see how the country will stand; if all revolt we must stand on the defensive, if any will assist me; I desire but to quiet the mutineers. Speak to Captain Payne, if you will, I will find means to send you some of your men.—I know not, but imagine the mutineers, nor any, will attempt upon you, if you should go forth of the castle, or come hither.—You must try first, and take advice.—It grieves me to see the ruin of this country; for the castles we fear them not, we have provisions and men enough, but that my boat of beer should not have come from the castle I wonder of—we drink a hogshead a day, and if we cannot have beer, I must twine most of my men to your castle. Let me hear from thee by the bearer; let not Mrs. Gwinett know that her husband is hurt, it is but a favourable one; tell her I keep him till I may send him by sea.

"Your loving husband,

"PHILIP CARTERET."[1]

[1] Pseudo-Mastix, MS.

This reckless dragonade, inconsiderately sanctioned by the governor, originated evidently in the fool-hardiness of the cavaliers recently from the wars,—desirous of emulating the dashing and daring exploits of the Prince Rupert. It proved, however, to be a signal failure, —a result too frequently attending the quixotic contempt entertained by the royalists for the courage and prowess of the roundheads. Nevertheless, shots had been exchanged which could not be repealed; blood shed which could not be staunched; and wounds inflicted which refused to heal.

The islanders had hitherto restricted themselves to the defensive; they now determined to adopt offensive measures; and the leaguer of Elizabeth Castle commenced in earnest. All intercommunication between the fortress and the shore was interrupted; Sir Philip's friends were prohibited from going over to visit him; his soldiers were no longer allowed to purchase provisions in the town; and he, in consequence, became entirely dependent on his nephew for supplies. Fortunately for him; for his lady at Mont Orgueil; and for Sir Peter Osborne at Castle Cornet, provisions could still be readily transmitted from France. Sir Philip writes thus to the latter :—

"The next day after this action, both castles here were beset, and so continue, surrounded with sentries and corps de garde, that no dog can stir out of either, nor none have been suffered, or have dared of themselves to venture in.—My wife is in the other castle; I send to her sometimes by sea, but with much hazard and difficulty; my shallop is now there, and so to go to Cape Carteret (on the coast of Normandy) to meet with the captain (his nephew) passing by Granville.—He sends

this boat to you, willing me to send five or six men of the Cornish to you in her, and some provisions.—I have given order to their lieutenant to choose out some, but they all refuse to be parted the one from the other, and if forced, in danger to mutiny. As for provisions, I have sent as much as I could get the boat to carry, viz. a hogshead of beef, three of biscuit." [1]

Notwithstanding the skirmish and its results, the governor still persevered in his endeavours to bring about a treaty, and wrote a letter to John Dumaresq, colonel of the town militia, his lieutenant-bailiff, requesting him to lay it before the authorities. The document contains a mere recapitulation of old grievances, together with recommendations to put down the parliamentary faction, and to recall the inhabitants to their allegiance. To this is added a promise of interceding to procure pardon for the delinquents with the king, always excepting the dean and his party, whom, the governor repeats, he is determined to put down at all hazards.

Dumaresq sent a requisition to the authorities, and *chefs de famille*, summoning them to assemble on a certain day at the dwelling of the constable of St. Helier's, in order to take the governor's communication into consideration, and to determine on the proper reply. D'Assigny and the rest refused to meet at the appointed place, but assembled the principal inhabitants of the town, and great numbers of the lower orders, at his own presbytery, now become the grand focus of confederacy and intrigue. This insular convention, after some discussion, thought fit to postpone their decision for a week; but it was not until a fortnight had elapsed

[1] Osborne Papers.

that they condescended to forward a reply; which had been drawn up by the dean, and approved of by four of the committee, eight jurats, and a number of deputies from the other parishes, who pretended to constitute an assembly of the estates of the island.

The communication consists of bitter recriminations, interspersed with much special pleading in justification of the acts of the committee; and concludes with a repetition of the demand, for Sir Philip to deliver himself up to the parliament, and in person to answer the charges previously lodged against him; as the only condition on which they could enter into any treaty for mutual accommodation.

D'Assigny transmitted the letter by a beggar boy, one of the meanest and most ragged of the *canaille*, whom he likewise charged with a verbal message, stating that since Sir Philip had thought fit to commence warfare by firing upon the town, and by other outrages against the well-affected, they were determined to make no terms with him, so long as he retained the command of the castles.

Sir Philip received the tattered envoy with apparent courtesy and fair speeches, and loaded him with presents, hoping to induce him to betray the secrets of his employers; secrets of which he was not the depositary. He then charged him with a message of defiance, and a written reply, in which he attributed the insulting epistle he had received to the "envenomed and malicious pen of the dean;" and called upon the lieutenant-bailiff and jurats to exclude Bandinel, the author of all the calamities which had befallen the island, from their councils. He enjoined them to arrest and arraign him of the crime of *lèze majesté*, and made some further

propositions, which, he must have known full well, would never be acceded to.

Having despatched the messenger, with promises of more money if, on his return to the castle, he would communicate all the intelligence he could glean, as to the proceedings of the committee, the governor ordered the royal standard to be displayed, and wine to be distributed among the soldiery, who drank the king's health amid a salvo of artillery, in token of their resolution to preserve the castle for his majesty, or die in its defence.

It was evident that neither party would agree to such concessions as were likely to ensure pacification. The committee knew that, so long as Sir Philip had the castles, their own personal safety was at stake, and their chance of retaining the power they had acquired exceedingly precarious. They durst not venture, without aid from parliament, to attack his strongholds; they had been foiled in their attempt to capture him; and their only hope of success rested on being able to beguile him into England, and so into the hands of the close committee. He, on the other hand, was fully aware that so long as he retained the castle all was safe; but, the moment he quitted it, or trusted himself within the power of the English parliament without the sanction of the king, the royal cause in Jersey must be utterly ruined, and he himself allowed no other choice than the state prison, the scaffold, or voluntary exile for life; with confiscation of property, persecution of family and friends, under any contingency. Both parties anxiously watched the course of events, in the hope that something might occur to turn the scale in favour of either; and in the meantime they confined their warfare to an interchange of waspish

protocols, diversified by petty acts of aggression, which led to no result but mutual exasperation.

Under D'Assigny's direction the corps de garde were strengthened in the town, the principal avenues barricaded against sudden assault, and more cannon mounted on the new redoubt in the cemetery. These proceedings, and the neglect of his repeated letters and messages, so incensed the governor, that he endeavoured, by way of reprisal, to seize some merchant vessels belonging to the islanders in the harbour of St. Aubin's, and accordingly despatched his shallop, and some armed boats thither, for the purpose. But others from the shore were sent out to oppose them, and the attempt was necessarily abandoned.

The town, and indeed the whole island, was now in a state of the greatest anarchy; dissensions existed to such an extent among the magistrates, that the court of judicature was obliged to discontinue its sittings. The populace, no longer held in check by the "curb and whip of the law," committed offences with impunity, and gave themselves up to all manner of riot and debauchery. These disorders were increased by the constant bustle of hostile demonstrations; and the clergy, instead of attempting to allay the turbulence of the people, became the most active and vehement among the agitators.

The committee, immediately after the affray in the market-place, solicited the aid of some parliamentary vessels stationed in the roadstead of Guernsey. Four of these were accordingly sent over and stationed off Mont Orgueil, for the purpose of intercepting boats from Normandy and Brittany, which regularly conveyed provisions and warlike stores to the royalist fortresses in both islands. The French boats, however, watching their opportunity, ran across in dark nights, and thus eluded the vigilance

of the cruisers. It was then thought that the presence of the frigates might be turned to better account in capturing some of the leading royalists in Jersey, so as to make use of them as hostages. Forty or fifty picked men from the crews of the parliamentary vessels were therefore landed, and, being furnished with arms by the islanders, easily succeeded in kidnapping several of the clergy, and other persons of note, among the governor's adherents, whom they detained on board their vessels.[1] But the captains in a few days, alleging that they could not bear to see them incommoded by sea-sickness, put them on shore. This touch of pity was most likely excited by some pecuniary suggestion, for we shall find, as we become better acquainted with these seafaring gentry, that although not very susceptible of tender emotions, they were exceedingly rapacious. The hostages once on *terra firma*, were placed, for a time, under strict *surveillance* in the town, but ultimately liberated on giving security for future good behaviour.

The government was now entirely usurped by the committee, who, far from seeking to allay popular effervescence, did all in their power to excite it, and directed all their energies to discover means for annoying Sir Philip. Conscious that there was no chance of obtaining anything like concession, so long as he was supplied with stores from France, and enabled to recruit his garrisons freely from Cornwall and Ireland, they equipped

[1] "Those ships that ride before the castle (Mont Orgueil), the most quickly were here, landed some forty or fifty of their men, and, as I understand, have taken divers of the chief, that adhered not to the faction, prisoners aboard of them. Divers of the ministers, Mr. La Place, Mr. Gruchy, Mr. Fautrat not heard of, the King's Advocate, Mr. Trinité's brother; I know not if himself and whether the Viscount or no." —Sir P. Carteret to Sir P. Osborne, July 5th, 1643.—*Osborne Papers, Tupper*, 67.

a number of small vessels, in order if possible to cut off his communications by sea. The command of the flotilla was given to one Nathaniel Vaughan, who was commissioned to man certain barks and pinnaces with crews selected from among those persons best affected towards "the King, the Parliament, and the Protestant religion." His directions were, to cruise in the Channel; make prizes of vessels conveying supplies of any kind or description to the castles; and bring all captures into the harbour of St. Aubin's, in order that ships and cargoes should be confiscated and sold for the benefit of the state, and the remuneration of their captors. No mention, however, is made of any result arising from Vaughan's cruises; we therefore assume that they were unsuccessful, as the castles continued to receive supplies without other interruption than that [depending upon unfavourable weather, or want of funds on the part of the governor to purchase commodities.

Sir Philip, on the other hand, even from the commencement of hostilities, had sought to prevent the importation of provisions into Jersey, as the best means of reducing his adversaries to due subjection. Seeing, however, that they were now endeavouring to starve him out, he in turn, at the suggestion and through the instrumentality of Captain George Carteret, at St. Maloes, obtained an edict from the king of France,[1] prohibiting any export of provisions from the adjacent

[1] "De par le Roy,
La Reine Regente, sa mère, présente.

"Il est ordonné à tous Capitaines et Gouverneurs des villes maritimes de Picardie, Normandie, et Bretagne; aux Lieutenants et autres officiers de l'Amirauté; et à tous autres qu'il appartiendra, de ne permettre à aucuns habitans des Isles de Jersey et Guernésey (autrement dites Gerzé et Grenézé), de transporter des vivres et autres denrées et

coasts of France, without an official requisition from the governors of the royalist castles of Jersey and Guernsey.

The rebel inhabitants in both islands, being almost entirely dependent for support upon the supplies they received from France, became, as might be expected, much distressed, and often in danger of famine without being at all aware of the cause, until the arrival of the following letter from *le Prevôt des marchands*, or mayor of the borough of Porbail in Normandy, addressed to the "merchants of woolstead stockings[1] in Jersey."

We annex a literal translation of this document:—

"GENTLEMEN,

"These presents are to give you notice, that on Saturday last Captain Carteret[2] caused to be published at Barneville, by beat of drum, an edict from the King

marchandises de ce Royaume, s'ils n'ont passeport des Sieurs Carteret et Osborne, Gouverneurs des dites isles.

"Mandant sa Majesté aux dits Capitaines, et Governeurs des villes maritimes de tenir main soigneusement à l'éxecution de la presente ordonnance, à la copie de laquelle, dûment collationnée par un des conseilliers, notaire et secretaire: Elle veut que foi soit ajoutée comme au present original.

"Donné à Paris le xxe de Mai, 1643."

[1] "Bas de laines," the staple manufacture of Jersey. See Lady Fanshawe's Memoirs, p. 76.

[2] A letter from certain contumacious jurats in Guernsey, written to the Earl of Warwick, July 27th, 1643, contains the following illustrative passage:—"May it please your Lordp wee shall make bold to informe yo Honr of such newes as wee have this day received from France, videlicet, that in Cotentin in Normandy there are 15 thousand five hundred men raised, intended for England, as wee are informed. Upon this information wee have sent a man Normandie to discover the full truth, yt wee may more clearly and certainely informe yor Loppe. Wee have also understoode that Capt. Carteret is much favored in France, specialy by the Nobilitye, but wee hope that yor Lordship will avert all mischiefe from us, according to the honourable promise wee

of France and the Queen Regent, enjoining all governors, lieutenants, and others of the provinces of Picardy, Normandy, and Brittany, and even all officers of the Admiralty, to prohibit the transport of any provisions, commodities, or merchandizes to the isles of Jersey and Guernsey, without permits or passports signed by the governors of the said places.

"By virtue of this prohibition, numbers of gentlemen along the coasts are arming pataches to fall upon you by sea or by land; and I assure you that there is not a single noble, or person in authority, who is not so thoroughly incensed against you, and fully prepared not only to prevent the landing of your merchandize, but, if landed, to sue for its confiscation even before the Douane of Paris.

"As for my own part, I sought an interview, as recently as yesterday morning, with Captain Carteret, at Monsieur la Ducquerie's, and implored him not to proceed in molesting you, who are men of honour, and in no way the cause of the troubles existing in your islands. The captain declared upon oath, that if you are all unanimous in preserving tranquillity; if you will banish all strangers; send away vessels which will assuredly ruin you by remaining; and if you will consent to live in peace, as heretofore; and not espouse any party until the differences between the king and the parliament are settled, he will serve you individually and collectively to the utmost in his power.

"These propositions appear to me so reasonable,

have received from yor Honor's last letter; in obedience to which we have caused the chiefe islanders to take the oath sent by your Loppe and this day the rest of the inhabitantes were to take it; and so wee remain, &c."—*From the State-paper Office.*

that I cannot but recommend you to accept them, in order to avert still greater misfortunes than you have already endured, for the sake of two or three incendiaries, whose selfish ambition ought not any longer to be allowed to interfere with the tranquillity of your republic, and the prosperity of your traffic. Such is the advice I venture to offer for the present, until it shall please God to enlighten your minds. In anticipation of this change, I ever remain,

" Gentlemen,

" Your very humble and very obedient servant,

" La Vallete le Rossignol.

" Porbail,
this 20th of July, 1643."

Nothing could be more judicious than the advice, nothing more unpropitious to Sir Philip than the disclosures, contained in this letter. The dean and his partisans were delighted at witnessing the effect of this revelation on the inhabitants at large. People of all political creeds, surprised and indignant at the governor's conduct, exclaimed, that since he had endeavoured to starve the innocent as well as the guilty, it was an act of simple justice to withhold from him permission to purchase food in the island. The indulgence hitherto winked at was accordingly withdrawn, in spite of his assertion that fresh provisions were more than ever required by himself, as well as by his mother, both of whom he said were seriously indisposed. He thereupon sent Thomas Roger, one of the garrison, into the town with a note to the constable, conjuring him to assist the soldier in obtaining fresh victuals. Written instructions were likewise given to his messenger to the following effect:—

"You shall tell the Messieurs (the committee) if you see them, that they know not their trade to suffer those soldiers, who but ride out on the sand at low-water, to be shott at, in the time when they have received propositions of accomodation from me, and promised an answer.

"You shall tell them, that I will avoid, what I can, any acts of hostility, not out of fear to have my houses burnt, as I am threatened, (if I shoot at the town,) or my mother killed by them. For the first, tell them that I am at present in a good house of the king's; and, when I shall need my own, I shall find those who will rebuild them, and mend those faults in the architecture of them, as I have committed. For the last, if any will wash their hands in the blood of a gentlewoman of fourscore years, God will require it one day from them.

"In conclusion, as long as I can hope for the public peace, I will be pliable to anything; else, if they continue to bar me from what is lawful to the least (the meanest), viz. to buy for his money,—I will mar their market.

"I entreat Mr. Payn, the Captain of Grouville, from me, to set out the king's mead by him, and sell the hay; unless I may be suffered to have it made, and carried into the castle. The same tell Estienne Aubin, for the meadow of Saint Sauveur.

"PH. CARTERET, Lieut.-Governor."[1]

[1] Prynne asserts that Sir Philip was an excellent penman; whether or not the above and former specimens justify this opinion, we seek not to determine. There is, however, internal evidence in his English compositions, that he thought in French, and translated in the course of writing. His French compositions, although prolix and ill-arranged, contain some point; they are far from elegant, but often eloquent, and not devoid of pathos.

Thomas Roger, thus dismissed with an empty knapsack, was intercepted on his way back to the castle, by his wife and a detachment of children, who besought him to leave the governor to his fate, and return with them to their dwelling in the town. Sacrificing public virtue to private feeling, he consented, and, for this amiable weakness, was threatened with punishment as a deserter.

No official or accredited reply was returned to Sir Philip's verbal messages, any more than to his letters; but frequent anonymous communications came to his hands; among others, a note informing him of the grounds on which the purchase of fresh provisions had been denied, and reviling him as the instigator of the edict from the King of France. The latter piece of information we obtain from his own admission in a letter to the constable:—

"I have received no other answer to my applications, for the purchase of fresh victuals, excepting a paper which evidently proceeds from the dean's seditious factory, expressing amazement that I, who sought to produce a famine in the island, should think the refusal to supply me with what I requested, unreasonable. Bandinels insinuation amounts to a foul calumny; he lies,—like a false traitor (as he is), in imputing to me the design of oppressing the inhabitants, through the intervention of a foreign power. I can prove by the attestation of Mr. Osborne (Sir Peter's son), that the edict he alludes to was obtained by order of my Royal master, communicated to his agent at the court of France."

This is a palpable subterfuge on the part of Sir Philip. The information which incensed the nobility of the

maritime provinces of France, although possibly not emanating directly from him, must have been communicated by some of his friends, a circumstance of which he could scarcely have remained in ignorance; but it must be remembered that duplicity in dealing with each other was not considered a crime of the first magnitude, either by royalists or roundheads. At all events, his policy was short-sighted, and in the end failed in attaining the object desired; for no sooner were the *fermiers generaux* apprised of the interdiction, than foreseeing its ruinous effects on commerce, and the consequent falling off of the receipts of the exchequer, they obtained a repeal of the edict, and free intercourse again took place between France and the Channel Islands. The Jersey committee, likewise, who kept up constant correspondence with the parliament, did not fail to transmit a copy of the obnoxious proclamation; attributing it to Sir Philip's representations, and complaining that he endeavoured "by all manner of subtle practices to famish the islanders; and, in their scarcity of corn, to cut their throats as it were, by dispersing rumours abroad that they were traitors, and rebels to the king; and, so, unworthy of any supplies of corn from the neighbours' countries."

"Hitherto," they added, "we have easily kept good union together, saving only the governor's adherents, who are not numerous in proportion to the multitude that stand well affected to the king and parliament: but still he continues to divert those that are of a weaker nature. The long delay of succours disheartens the rest; and his threats to invade us in our houses, keep us in constant fear of some eminent ruin. By the advice of the well affected, we conceive that the action to appre-

hend him requires the conduct of a chief commander of quality, to be presently substituted in his place by parliament. The commonality approve of the proposal, and would readily lend their assistance; nevertheless, we thought fit to suspend the execution, being destitute of a chief commander, in a frontier so remote for supply in a case of extreme combustion."

In the meantime the governor continues to blow hot and cold alternately; one day battering the houses of the townsfolk with cannon shot, the next addressing proposals of pacification to the committee. Towards the end of July he encloses a letter to the greffier, or keeper of the public records, containing a request that it may be laid before the states.

After reviewing the original ground of dissension, he concludes by stating: "In regard to the charges urged against me by my enemies, I have only to repeat, that I am ready to answer for my conduct to the laws of my country, before the king, and his privy council, or before royal commissioners appointed under the great seal of the kingdom, either in this island, or in England, stipulating only for safe conduct, and leave to produce witnesses, and documentary evidence from this island. In proof of my sincerity I hereby offer my eldest son, and such others of my children as may be deemed sufficient hostages for the fulfilment of my engagement. And in order that there may be, in the mean time, no impediment to free intercommunication between me and the adverse party, I propose that a certain number of persons of equal quality shall pledge themselves mutually to conduct the preliminaries."

The states assembled to take these proposals into consideration. Many of the members, including even

the committee-men themselves, were beginning to be softened by Sir Philip's appeals; it is, therefore, not improbable that matters might have ended amicably, but for the dean, whose animosity was unquenchable, and whose talents were equal to his virulence. By intimidation and declamation, he succeeded in compelling the members of the assembly to adopt a resolution of his own, which again cast the apple of discord between the parties, and rekindled the smouldering embers of mutual animosity.

The fresh *casus belli* is a letter to Sir Philip, replete with bitter invective, and concluding with the usual alternative:—"Our final answer to your propositions is, that the whole of the inhabitants concur in requiring you to appear before parliament, when a sufficient number of witnesses, for and against you, shall be forthcoming. The people also demand the dismissal of the Cornish and Irish soldiers you have lately added to your garrison, whose presence keeps the islanders in a constant state of alarm, and obliges them to mount guard by day and night, to their great inconvenience. They require you, therefore, to name an early day for giving in your resignation of the command of the castles; when certain persons, duly authorized, shall be in readiness to take the charge upon themselves."

The dean, having by this time gained complete ascendancy over the rest of the authorities, did all in his power to widen the breach between the people and the governor; who, having no longer any hope of being able to induce his friends to advocate his cause, *ne sachant*, as Chevalier says, *à quel saint se vouer*, had recourse to the more persuasive eloquence of his artillery. But, instead of battering the town, or firing into

merchant vessels as they passed the castle, on their way from England to St. Aubin's, he contented himself with firing over them. The islanders, far from being intimidated, as he intended they should be, only became the more incensed; questioning the skill of the gunners, rather than giving the governor credit for forbearance. A few well-directed shots would have done more to bring them to terms, than all his ill-considered attempts at conciliation.

A domestic calamity, which befel him at this period, gave his bitterest enemies an opportunity of evincing their personal malevolence towards him. On the 24th of July his son Gideon died in Elizabeth Castle, when Sir Philip sent one of his soldiers into the town to beg some of his friends to intercede with the committee for a brief truce; in order that twelve of his tenants might receive the corpse at a certain point on the castle bridge, and convey it for interment to the family vault at St. Ouen's. This request was humanely acceded to by the committee; the funeral procession left the castle amid the lugubrious booming of minute guns; and the soldiers, after depositing the body on the appointed spot, in charge of the tenantry, returned straightway to the garrison. But the three ecclesiastics, the dean, his son James Bandinel, and D'Assigny, representing to the populace that the funeral was a mere ruse on the part of the governor, succeeded in inducing them to fire upon the procession as it advanced along the beach. Notwithstanding this outrageous and unchristian act, the bearers succeeded in reaching St. Ouen's without further impediment; the body of the governor's son was consigned to the tomb of his ancestors,—ten francs were bestowed on the officiating minister, De la Cloche;

twelve crowns were given to the bearers; and twenty livres distributed in alms among the poor of the parish in which the manor is situated.

About the beginning of August, Sir Philip received the following proclamation from his majesty, Charles I.:

"Charles Rex.

"His majesty having received certain information that many of his subjects, inhabitants of the isle of Jersey, notwithstanding the many graces and favours, from time to time received by them from his majesty's hand, through the false information and miscounselling of a very few seditious spirits amongst them, most of them being factious ministers, have lately fallen from their allegiance and duty to their liege lord and sovereign, his sacred majesty, and adhered to those who, as committees from, or for the two houses of parliament, falsely so styling themselves, have traitorously drawn them into that horrid rebellion, which hath spread throughout most parts of this kingdom, and in that isle, and have violently possessed themselves of the estates of many of our good and loyal subjects, imprisoned some of them, and some others have compelled to go on shipboard, and carried them away from their habitations in a very barbarous and inhuman manner, whereof some of these sufferers are ancient men and grave divines.

"Nevertheless his majesty, being graciously inclined to pity his subjects, and to impute these their high offences to the malice of those few, who have been their misleaders; so as they who have been thus seduced will speedily return to their obedience, and continue therein for the time to come, Doth by these presents grant, publish, and declare his royal and gracious mercy and

free pardon to all the inhabitants of the said isle, who within three days after the publishing of this Proclamation, shall return to their former obedience and submit themselves unto his majesty, and express their sorrow for what is past, and promise and undertake to the governor of the isle constantly and faithfully to continue in their duty and allegiance unto his majesty for the future.

"Nevertheless, out of this gracious pardon his majesty doth except Benjamin Bisson, Francis Carteret,[1] Henry Dumaresq, and David and John (James) Bandinel, whom his majesty doth hereby justly declare to be traitors and misleaders of the same, and shall in due time legally proceed against them.

"But if the said inhabitants shall not lay hold of this opportunity offered unto them out of his majesty's grace and goodness, his majesty, being justly provoked thereunto, doth resolve to resume all their charters and priviledges formerly granted unto them, and to take the just forfeiture of their estates according to law.

"Given at our Court at Oxford, the 18th of July, 1643.

"Printed at Oxford by Leonard Lichfield, printer to the University."

This compound of clemency and harshness was as injudicious, as it proved to be injurious to the royal cause: in the first place, by excluding the ringleaders from all hope of mercy; and, in the second, by threat-

[1] By a strange anomaly, Francis Carteret, who from the first remained passive and never signed the manifestoes issued by his colleagues, was excluded from the amnesty; whereas Michael Lemprière, by far the most active among the commissioners, was included in the pardon.

ening their misguided followers with abrogation of their much cherished privileges; so that the boon, presented as it were at the point of the sword, gave dissatisfaction to all but the ultra-royalists. Sir Philip was directed to publish it throughout the island by sound of trumpet; but as his experience on a former occasion did not encourage this mode of procedure, even allowing it to be within the scope of possibility, he merely gave notice of the contents of the document to the committee, and caused a copy of it to be affixed, by means of a chain and padlock, to a high post on a hill opposite the land-gate of the old castle. On the obverse of the placard was a printed copy of the original; on the reverse, a French translation in written characters, for, it must be remarked, no printing-press existed in Jersey until one hundred and twenty years from this time. The constable of the parish, one of the disaffected, removed the notice as soon as possible, and transmitted it to the commissioners, who were careful not to promulgate its contents; much to the disappointment of the town population. They murmured, but durst not complain openly, being held in awe by the dean and D'Assigny, who continued to sway the committee and the rest of the executive with despotic power.

In the middle of August, Sir Philip, harassed by such repeated disappointments, worn out with incessant anxiety, more on account of his family at Mont Orgueil than his own; and possibly undermined in constitution by being so long deprived of fresh provisions; fell dangerously ill, and, for the first and last time, addressed an official despatch in English directly to the committee, through Mr. Hungerford, the master porter, or seneschal, of Elizabeth Castle:—

"GENTLEMEN,

"I having received the King's gracious pardon, embraced it with a great deal of joy, hoping that before God shall call me away, I should see some beginning of the quiet of those disorders of this country, which seeing is not likely to prove, it is God's pleasure to call me to His mercy, that I may not witness the further increase of the miseries of this country. I desire in your christian charity that you will permit Monsieur la Cloche, or any other that you will send, to administer unto me such christian comforts as are necessary and usual in these extremities; and that you will permit my poor wife to come unto me, to do me the last duty, that of closing up my eyes. The Lord forgive you, as I forgive you all. I pray you, suffer this bearer to go to the old castle to fetch my wife, and send some other to Monsieur la Cloche, with all speed. This is the last request I shall ever make unto you. The Lord be merciful to you all. From the Castle Elizabeth, this 16th day of August, 1643.

"Your loving Friend,

"PH. CARTERET."

"To the Gentlemen Commissioners of
the Parliament, or any of them."

This touching appeal from a dying man would, in all probability, have been responded to in a proper spirit by Lemprière and other members of the committee, but for the interference of the inexorable dean and his clerical partisans, whose hatred towards Sir Philip remained unmitigated, even when he was reduced almost to the last extremity. Far from evincing any symptom of humanity, on the contrary, they exulted in his distress,

and imagined that by denying him spiritual consolation, as well as temporal comfort, they might compel him to make any sacrifice, even to the relinquishing his command: anxiety to obtain possession of the castle predominating in their minds over every other consideration. The confederates, as usual, assembled in conclave at D'Assigny's presbytery for the purpose of deliberating on the contents of the Governor's letter. The domineering Dean dictated the following unchristian, not to call it blasphemous, reply, which he induced, or rather compelled, the subservient committee-men to sanction with their signatures:—

"Sir Philip,

"This sudden change excites in us great amazement. Instead of sending for the Sheriff to enforce the extorted royal proclamation against us, you send for a minister to administer consolation to yourself;—But, 'the Lord is wise in council, and wonderful in strength.' We cannot understand how the inhabitants should have deserved the ignominious titles of traitors and rebels, so as to require a pardon from the King for all but some seven or eight, whom, as we are informed from Paris, you caused to be accused of high treason, seeking to have the forfeiture of all their lands. You seek to cast undeserved infamy upon his Majesty's loyal subjects, whose loyalty and fidelity was never before questioned by our good Kings of England, though the infidelity of many of our Governors hath.—Shall we then be content to live under pardon for having taken up arms in our own defence, not against the King but against Sir Philip Carteret, unjustly vexing and oppressing his Majesty's subjects, and making open war against them?—The Lord

open the eyes of your understanding, that, though late, you may bewail the misery you have brought upon the people.—As for our part, we heartily pray God to forgive you all that is past, washing your sins away, by sincere repentance, in the blood of Christ.—

"As for your desire to have some of the three ministers you desire, we cannot comply, as they are suspected by the people to have confederated with you in oppressing the country.—We have sent to Mr. Thomas Payne, if he please, to go to you, or any other you desire, whom we will permit.—But while we were writing this letter, there met together a troop of horsemen and some foot companies, that publicly require you to deliver into their hands the Cornish captain[1] you entertain in the castle, promising to give caution or hostage that no harm shall be done to him. On that condition your wife, a minister, or your mother and sisters, mightily desirous to see you, may have access to the castle.—Mr. Payne, the minister, refused even now to go and see you. You will do well, sir, in case God shall see fit to call you, to remit the custody of the castle into the hands of the Estate, to keep it for his Majesty's service. And so we remain your friends, *usque ad aras*,

"Henry Dumaresq. Abraham Herault.
Benjamin Bisson. Michael Lemprière."

"August the 17th, 1643."

The very day on which the above letter was written,[2] Sir Philip's mother, a venerable matron upwards of eighty years of age, came to town from St. Ouen's, accompanied by her two daughters, soliciting permission

[1] Captain Lane, before mentioned.
[2] Originally in English.

to visit their forlorn relative, which was refused. The old lady in despair offered to bestow twenty crowns in alms among the poor, if she alone might be allowed to visit her dying son; this indulgence also was interdicted by the Dean and D'Assigny. The latter had, moreover, so exasperated the whole populace, male as well as female, that the *sans culottes* of the town violently intercepted a messenger conveying a bottle of spring water and a small packet of sugar-candy to refresh the parched throat of the sufferer. And a young woman, despatched from Mont Orgueil, by Lady Carteret, to obtain intelligence of her husband's condition, and to present him with a book of religious meditation befitting his state, was apprehended by the municipal guard, who even took from her a pair of worsted stockings intended for her own father, one of the castle soldiers. "There is one circumstance," says our chronicler, "which I beheld with my own eyes and heard with my own ears, and my pen cannot be witheld from recording it, as an act of inhumanity unparalleled. Six hours before the decease of Monsieur de St. Ouen, (Sir Philip Carteret,) the infamous Le Boutillier went to the parsonage in all haste to inform D'Assigny, that he had just encountered a person carrying a basket of grapes, pears, mulberries, and other fruits to the castle. He enquired whether they should be allowed to pass; 'by no means,' said the Rector, 'arrest the individual, and seize the basket; its contents will be quite as agreeable to us, as to the governor.' Le Boutillier immediately rushed out, but fortunately the bearer of the fruit was too far in advance, and succeeded in reaching the castle with the refreshments."

The soldiers in garrison, aware of the cruelty with

which the governor was treated, were so exasperated, that they thenceforth sallied forth in parties, whenever the causeway was passable, to beat up the enemy's quarters. On one occasion, advancing cautiously under shelter of the rocks, they discharged their pieces among the town guard, at a post called *la roquette;* the militia musketeers returned the fire, and rushing out, a sharp skirmish took place, which ended in the repulse of the assailants, who were thrown into confusion by discharges from the culverins in the redoubt. These acts of aggression on the part of the royalists were complained of to Mr. Hungerford, on his coming to town: but he took no further notice than by stating, that the garrison being deprived of their governor, it was impossible to restrain the soldiery from manifesting their indignation at the treatment he had received.

Mr. Hungerford announced officially to the committee that his commander and friend was now past recovery, whereupon these gentry, who had persisted, until now, in discrediting the accounts transmitted to them of his illness, were seized with qualms of conscience, and sought to redeem past harshness by sending one of their people to the castle with condolences and offers of service. The messenger, on his return, brought word that Sir Philip, sensible of his approaching dissolution, earnestly requested that his wife might be sent for from Mont Orgueil. This demand was acceded to without hesitation, and at the repeated solicitations of his mother, she likewise was allowed to attend upon him. But her daughter, preparing to accompany her, and already on the causeway, was turned back; which so affected her that she fell from her horse in a swoon, and was conveyed in a state of insensibility to her lodging in the town. A female

attendant who had been permitted to enter the castle with the dowager, returned soon after with a supplication from Sir Philip, that his other sister, Judith, might be allowed access to his dying-couch, and that a clergyman might also be sent to him. The Rev. Daniel Brevint was accordingly directed to visit him, but not having been specially named by the patient, he declined to attend, and another minister, Mr. Mollet, was despatched to the castle in his stead.

The Royal court, which had suspended its sittings, resumed them on the 22d of August, for the purpose of appointing a judge delegate, to replace Sir Philip, who as alleged by the committee was dead *de jure*, if not *de facto*; but the jurats not being agreed among themselves as to the proper person to be nominated, the election was postponed for a week.

The next day, Lady Carteret, in compliance with the melancholy summons she had received, arrived from the old castle, and immediately repaired, by special permission, to her husband. Although speechless, he nevertheless was conscious of her presence, which he manifested by lifting up his hands, as if in thanksgiving. Comforted by the presence of a minister of the gospel, and soothed with the consciousness that, in accordance with the desire expressed in his last letter to the committee, his beloved wife and mother were at hand to close his eyes, he in a few hours expired.

The Rev. Mr. Mollet, who attended him in his last moments, bore testimony to the christian spirit in which he departed; forgiving his enemies, as he hoped himself to be forgiven; and expressing a firm assurance that he had made his peace with God.

The authors of the Pseudo-Mastix aver, that "he gave

29546

order upon his death bed, that they should not bury his body untill the king had overcome all his ennemies, least his enniemies should rejoyce over his body." A statement, perhaps, not entirely erroneous, although misinterpreted; for, it appears that Lady Carteret and his eldest son Philip, despatched a boat to St. Maloes, the day after his decease, to bring from thence a surgeon to embalm the body. This being done, it remained for some months at Elizabeth Castle, enclosed in a leaden, and an oaken coffin, uninterred; the brain, heart, and other viscera being buried in the church of the castle wherein he died.

"Thus expired," says Chevalier, "this honourable gentleman, in the sixty-third year of his age, after upwards of forty years of public service. As the representative of an ancient family, he inherited considerable estates, together with various feudal rights and titles; and he filled many important posts under an unfortunate monarch, who bestowed upon him numerous marks of his confidence and favour. He had received a liberal education, was well informed in general, but especially so in the laws and institutions of his native island; and was much esteemed, by the well-thinking part of the community, as an upright and a gracious judge."

Another biographer adds, "He was not, however, a faultless character; being imbued, throughout his long public life, with inordinate ambition to aggrandise himself, and the members of his own family, at the expense of his contemporaries, which excited their envy and hatred, and was made a pretext for continued persecution."

CHAPTER III.

THE COMMITTEE APPLY FOR A PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNOR—PRYNNE INTERFERES—LYDCOTT APPOINTED DEPUTY TO LORD WARWICK—MONT ORGUEIL INVESTED—ELIZABETH CASTLE BOMBARDS ST. HELIER'S—REBELS FORTIFY THE HILL—LYDCOTT ATTEMPTS TO SECURE ALLEGIANCE—SENDS TO WARWICK FOR SUCCOURS—PRESSES THE SIEGE OF THE OLD CASTLE—ROYALISTS PERSECUTED—ROYALIST REACTION—PRINCE MAURICE, AND BOWDEN'S TREACHERY—GARRISON OF MONT ORGUEIL—LYDCOTT'S FOLLOWERS DESERT—THE STATES SUE FOR PEACE—CAPTAIN CARTERET ARRIVES—RECOVERS JERSEY FOR THE KING—LYDCOTT AND HIS FRIENDS DECAMP.

THE Committee, before they became aware of Sir Philip's danger, had made strenuous efforts, as we have seen, to get a parliamentary governor sent over, with ample forces. They had hitherto been thwarted, as appears from their own statements, and Prynne's admission, through the influence of the latter. But conscious that their own authority would cease if another cavalier were appointed in the stead of Sir Philip, they became more desirous than ever to obtain a parliamentarian. They therefore deputed John Herault, one of their own members, to urge the request before the House of Commons.

Herault, by his malicious suggestions and importunate solicitations, procured an order from the close committee, for sending Major Lydcott, and some other officers, to Jersey, with store of arms and ammunition; and orders to besiege the castles; apprehend Sir Philip; defend their party, and secure the island.[1]

[1] The Lyar Confounded.

"Out of my own cordial affection to the parliament and that island," says Prynne, "I acquainted Mr. Solicitor, and others of the close Committee, with the inconvenience and ill consequence of this rash design, informing them, upon my own knowledge, that both castles were so strongly situated, and fortified, that they must have an army by land, and a fleet by sea, to block them up; that a hundred men in each would maintain the castles against all the force the island could produce, and three times more; and therefore, that it was ridiculous to imagine a major, with five or six gunners, and officers, and the small force Sir Philip's enemies could raise, should take both or either of the castles, especially without a fleet to assist them, one of the castles being quite surrounded with the sea at half flood, and above half the other at low-water; that both were very well furnished with ordnance and ammunition for two or three years siege; that they could every tide receive fresh supplies of victuals, men, and whatever they wanted, from France, and elsewhere; that the islanders were raw, faint-hearted soldiers, who durst not come within cannon-shot of the castles, much less approach a breach, and run upon the cannon's mouth."

Although Prynne's motives may be questionable, the advice he gave was neither unsound nor unpractical, under circumstances as they then existed; and, as he committed his opinions to paper, and left them with some of the close committee, it is highly probable that these opinions formed the basis of operations subsequently carried into effect by Blake.

"Some stop was made of the Jersey expedition," continues Prynne, "for a week or two; but afterwards some of the committee, crediting Sir Philip's adversaries, who

continually solicited them, and promised a present conquest of the castles, Major Lydcott and some other officers were sent over.—Before the Major departed hence, I meeting him in Westminster-hall, informed him of the strength of the castles, the impossibility of taking them, telling him I much feared he would soon return thence with loss and dishonour, and without any success; which I acquainted him with out of my good affection for himself and to the state—and therefore did my duty to both."

The close committee, however, paid less attention to Prynne than to Herault, who, anxious to attain his ends at any rate, and over-confident of success, assured them that, as the *whole* of the islanders were in the parliamentary interest, it would only be necessary to give them a chief on whom they might rely, and furnish them with arms and ammunition: whereas, it appeared in fact that soldiers likewise were required, but so few, that, if only one hundred regulars had co-operated with the insurgent militia, the castles would have been won, and the whole of the island speedily reduced.

Lydcott, although nominated to the government of Jersey during Sir Philip's lifetime, was not forthcoming until three days after his death. The leaders of the faction—imagining, when this event took place, that the garrisons, paralysed by the loss of their commander, might be easily subdued—were anxious to strike a decisive blow. They therefore urged the populace of the town to commence active operations forthwith against both fortresses. Large numbers of the lowest of the community obeyed the Dean's summons, and, under pretence of patriotism, but intent only on plunder, committed all kinds of depredations against the persons

and property of those suspected of the least leaning towards the royal cause. The men, excited to a spirit of levity and recklessness, were encouraged in all manner of mischievous excess by the women; who, like the *poissardes* of the French revolution, took a prominent part in these turbulent proceedings.

The fortresses, nevertheless, happened not to be in so defenceless a condition as had been anticipated. Mr. Hungerford, seneschal of Elizabeth Castle, maintained the place with more vigour, and as much obstinacy as his deceased master; and the widowed Lady Carteret, seconded by her eldest son, the young Lord of St. Ouen, kept Mont Orgueil for the king, with a degree of pertinacity and decision little inferior to that displayed by the noble heroine of Lathom House.

In the meantime, the Earl of Warwick, who on the 2d of June, 1643, had been appointed chief commander and captain-general of Jersey, Guernsey, and the depending isles adjacent, by the lords and gentlemen of the committee for the safety of the kingdom, nominated "his loving friend Leonard Lydcott as his deputy Lieutenant of the isle of Jersey. From on board his Majesty's shippe royall, the Prince, on the 8th of July, 1643," Warwick issued the following instructions to his loving deputy:—

"These are therefore to require and authorise you forthwith to repair to the said island, and to exercise the place and command of my deputy Lieutenant there, in the performance of all offices appertaining to the charge, and command entrusted to you for the welfare of the said island. And likewise, strictly to charge and enjoin all his Majesty's subjects, and all other officers and commanders to be obedient; aiding, and assisting unto you

respectively as if myself were present; and to all further orders of both houses of parliament; and also to myself in the premises concerning the same. And, for you, and every of them so doing, shall this be a sufficient warrant."

It was not, however, until Saturday, the 26th of August, 1643, that Serjeant Major Leonard Lydcott arrived at his new seat of government. He came on board a frigate, mounting thirty pieces of cannon, accompanied by his father, his wife, and her mother, brother, and sister; together with three captains, three lieutenants, and a large train of domestics, but no soldiers. Remarks were made on his landing, as to his being "a *very* young man for a commander, not more than eight and twenty or thirty years old; and moreover only just married." From these observations, and the objections previously urged against Captain Carteret, when about the same age, on account of his youth, it is to be inferred that, the Jerseymen of that epoch considered mature age an essential, if not the sole qualification, of a Governor.

Michael Lemprière, one of the committee, was appointed by parliament to succeed the late Sir Philip in the office of bailiff; thereby attaining the long-cherished object of an ambition which had been the chief incitement to a continued persecution of his predecessor. This appointment by the parliament was a decided innovation, entirely contrary to the existing laws and customs of the island; the nomination of a chief magistrate being the unquestionable prerogative of the Crown, totally irrespective of the parliament. The king, long anterior to this crisis, had granted the reversion of the office, on the demise of Sir Philip, to

Captain George Carteret, who, although absent from the island on the king's affairs, was still bailiff in the eye of the law; consequently Lemprière could be neither more nor less than a usurper, under sanction of illegal authority. Nevertheless, the states were convoked on the 29th of the month, and the members, awed by the formidable presence of the dean and other leaders of the faction, inducted Lemprière into office, without the slightest show of opposition, according to the usual form. Lord Warwick's commission to Lydcott having been read, the newly-made bailiff proceeded to administer the oath to the incipient governor, who then took his seat upon the bench beside him. It is remarked by our journalist as a singular inconsistency, that the form of oath taken by Lydcott did not differ in any respect from that which it had been the custom to administer to royalist governors, in which the king's authority was alone acknowledged, without the slightest reference to parliament. At the conclusion of the inaugural ceremonies, salvos of artillery and volleys of musketry were fired by the militia, and the multitude shouted in chorus. Some, no doubt, rejoiced at the new order of things, but there were many, even among the lower orders, who regarded these innovations with distrust, and were fearful as to the results.

On the following day the pseudo-governor, with his personal aides-de-camp and a staff of militia-officers, accompanied by the dean, the bailiff, and other magnates, rode forth to survey the island, and reconnoitre the country in the vicinity of Mont Orgueil; for the purpose of selecting some point of vantage from whence the castle might be assailed.

Lady Carteret had forwarded an application to town, on the preceding day, praying that reinforcements might be sent to enable her to defend the castle against the insurgents; but the letter falling into the hands of the self-constituted authorities, they suppressed it, as was their custom, unwilling that the people should be informed of its contents. Unaware of the failure of her application, the *chatelaine*, observing a cavalcade winding along the pathway in the distance, imagined it to be a detachment coming to her aid, and accordingly displayed the royal standard on the summit of the keep. Finding, however, that the supposed allies occupied a questionable position, and were evidently making a military reconnoissance, she prepared to give them a warmer reception than she had at first intended, and without delay, ordered match to be lighted, and guns to be loaded.

The gay *cortège* on the opposite height, intent on their survey, and apprehensive of no danger, were very much amazed at the discharge of a brace of shotted sakers from the ramparts, and thrown into the utmost confusion. Some fell from their horses, others dismounted, and all sought shelter behind friendly mounds from the bullets that whizzed harmlessly nevertheless over their heads. Apprehensive of a sortie from the gates of the castle, Lydcott and his retinue rallying as soon as possible, remounted their horses, and rode back full speed to the town,—*quitte pour la peur*.

In a day or two the discomfited governor, after consulting the ex-committee, issued a proclamation, forbidding any of the islanders to hold intercourse with those in either castle, or to afford them any sort of countenance, or assistance. Parochial officers, likewise, throughout

the island, were ordered to direct that persons owing rents or other monies to the Crown, to the Lord of Saint Ouen, or to Captain Carteret, should withhold payment until further orders. These orders were issued for the double purpose of distressing the royalists, and filling Lydcott's coffers.

A summons had previously been sent to Mr. Hungerford, requiring him to deliver up the keys of Elizabeth Castle to the civil authorities, as was the custom on the death of a commandant. He replied with great spirit and firmness, that such a custom, although allowable in times of peace, was not expedient now that the island was governed by a faction, siding with the rebels against their sovereign; that he was resolved not only to keep the keys, but to keep the castle; and, in compliance with a solemn promise made to Sir Philip on his death-bed, to defend it as long as he had breath in his body. He added, however, that if the confederated rebels refrained from molesting him, he would not attempt to injure them; but that any aggression on their parts would be instantly followed by reprisals on his.[1] A similar summons was sent to Mont Orgueil, to which Lady Carteret returned a similar reply. After this, the only communications which passed between the islanders and the inmates of the fortresses were delivered from the cannon's mouth.

Mr. Hungerford about this time obtained intelligence that a vessel laden with warlike stores was discharging part of her cargo at Guernsey, for the use of the rebels in that island; and that she might be shortly expected

[1] Hungerford appears to have been a man of great energy; much respected by the royalists, as we shall find from the honourable mention made of him by Sir Edward Hyde and others.

in Jersey, bringing Lydcott guns and ammunition for the reduction of Mont Orgueil. A sharp look-out was accordingly kept at Elizabeth Castle, and, on the 4th of September, a craft of suspicious aspect was seen steering cautiously for Saint Aubin's harbour, keeping well beyond the range of the castle guns. A brisk fire was nevertheless opened upon her, but the shot falling short, she reached her destination uninjured, and, under the protection of a strong guard sent from Saint Helier's, discharged her lading. The cargo consisted of two demi-cannons of iron, six brass culverins, three hundred matchlocks, rests, and bandoliers, fifty barrels of powder, three large bales of match, and a quantity of cannon-shot and bullets, together with six drums, seventy wheelbarrows, with spades, shovels, and pickaxes equivalent;—in short a complete field equipage, issued from the tower of London.

The governor had previously ordered every able-bodied man, unprovided with arms, to muster in the town on certain appointed days. On the first day one hundred and six were assembled; on the next, one hundred and fifty more; and the whole being enrolled, were fully armed and accoutred by means of the stores recently landed, each man, when on active duty, being allowed pay at the rate of ten sous *per diem*.

Thus prepared for offensive operations, Lydcott, who was anxious to secure at least one of the island strongholds, consulted the bailiff and jurats on the subject of commencing the siege of Mont Orgueil in due form, and proceeding as soon as possible to the assault. But the civil functionaries, unprepared to countenance such extreme measures, which they considered uncalled for, or at least premature, withheld their sanction, and recom-

mended a course more in accordance with their unwarlike habits. Lydcott, who beheld in their conduct a confirmation of Mr. Prynne's opinion, scorned their advice as pusillanimous, declaring that he had condescended to consult them merely *pro formâ*, to test the sincerity of their former professions, but that, henceforward, he would take upon himself the sole direction of military affairs.

In pursuance of this determination, he equipped and armed a hundred and fifty fresh volunteers, whom he marched to the parish of Grouville in order to occupy the heights commanding the land-gate of the old castle, so as to interrupt communications between the garrison and the islanders. These troops were also directed to compel the services of the neighbouring peasantry in cutting branches and twigs of trees, fashioning them into musket-baskets, and filling them with earth for the purpose of forming temporary ramparts, or breastworks; behind which the musketeers might discharge their pieces, and find shelter from the fire of the battlements.

The occupants of the castle, who had hitherto refrained from molesting the peasantry, on account of their apparent neutrality, finding them now engaged in the service of the besiegers, and perceiving that by their aid the field works were making rapid progress, commenced firing upon the working parties. Under favour of the cannonade, a party of soldiers issued forth from one of the masked sally-ports of the castle, and made a foray upon some cattle grazing in the neighbouring enclosures.

Mont Orgueil, thus feebly invested by land, was as ineffectually blockaded by sea. Captains Copping and Bowden, before mentioned, with a few small frigates

in parliamentary employ, were stationed in the offing, for the purpose, as it was alleged, of preventing Captain Carteret's boats from throwing supplies into the castle. Not only did these shallops convey provisions unmolested from St. Maloes and Granville, but on their return in ballast captured whatever unwary Jersey traders they happened to encounter, in spite of the squadron. This dereliction on the part of Captain Copping being complained of, he volunteered to intercept and capture the offending shallops at the first favourable opportunity, on condition that his own frigate should be "found in victuals" by the islanders. The offer being accepted, he was supplied with a couple of fat oxen, thirteen barrels of beer, and other luxuries; but not satisfied with these, he sent his boats on shore at Rozel Bay to steal some sheep from the adjoining pastures. After this feat he stood out to sea, neglected to perform his part of the contract, and was not again seen in Jersey till many months had elapsed; when he made his appearance unblushingly under royalist colours, having, during the interval, amused himself with a little piracy on his own account: and then, following the example of his former colleague, Captain Bowden, he changed sides, and took service with George Carteret, as commander of one of his privateers.

Lydcott, in prosecution of his design upon Mont Orgueil, sent fresh reinforcements and the necessary field equipage to the besiegers, with orders to use the utmost diligence in digging trenches, and throwing up ramparts. On the 13th of September he set out to visit the works in person, taking with him a couple of pieces of brass ordnance to play upon the

drawbridge of the castle, in the event of a sortie being threatened. The pioneers on his arrival suspended their usual labour, in order to secure the guns, and mount them on the nearly finished sconces. This apparent cessation being noticed by the garrison, and attributed by them to some contretemps, they determined to make an attack upon the works; unaware of the presence of the governor, who, on this occasion, practising the better part of valour, entered the entrenchments without display.

The party ordered for the attack by Lady Carteret was marshalled in two divisions, each consisting of about a dozen soldiers, wearing corslets and steel caps, and armed with firelocks. One of the divisions was commanded by Captain Legge, "brother to him with the king;" the other by Elias Dumaresq, a resolute and skilful officer. It was arranged that the two detachments, proceeding by different routes, should, on reaching the summit of the hill, make a simultaneous attack on the besiegers. Legge's party was destined to escalade in front, as soon as it was ascertained, by preconcerted signal, that the other party had turned the enemy's position. Dumaresq, by a circuitous movement through deep roads and sheltered lanes, so narrow that his men could only advance in single file, came upon the enemy unperceived, and deployed whilst they were engaged in unharnessing the horses, and unlimbering the guns. Dumaresq first announced his presence by a volley of musketry, and, taking advantage of the panic, at the same time, charged at the head of his men, completely routing his adversaries, who abandoned their artillery, and had much difficulty in rescuing their horses. It was fortunate for

the assailants that they were enabled to take their enemies by surprise; had the latter been aware of their vicinity, or even had their guns been loaded, a single discharge, along the narrow defile in which the detachment was engaged, must have sufficed to annihilate every man. Legge, in the meantime, made aware, by the discharge of firearms, that the action had commenced, rushed with great impetuosity up the hill, on the brow of which he encountered Lydcott and his retinue, conveying a barrel of gunpowder from a neighbouring farm-house. The surprise was mutual, but the governor and his staff, not deeming it necessary to enter into explanation, galloped off at full speed without exchanging even a pistol-shot. Equally averse to parley, Captain Legge, pushing forward, attacked the *corps de garde*, and drove them from their position; forced them to retreat in great confusion; when a sharp cannonade from the castle completed the victory.

The guns of the vanquished, with their equipage; shot, match, ramrods, sponges; the barrel of gunpowder *in transitu;* arquebuses and rests, spades, wheelbarrows, and other implements, became the spoils of the conquerors, who conveyed them in triumph to Mont Orgueil. The enemy had also in their confusion abandoned their clothes and personal accoutrements; and even the two days' rations with which each soldier was provided. Both Lydcott and his father, who accompanied him, appear to have had a narrow escape: had their presence been suspected they would infallibly have been taken prisoners, and the civil war in Jersey speedily have been terminated. As it was, the governor in his flight left his martial cloak behind him; and many

of his officers lost hats, swords, and pistols in the affray.

The people of the castle, in a short time finding that the works were again occupied by the enemy, sallied forth in the dead of night to beat up their quarters. A small party, proceeding up the hill silently and cautiously, managed to penetrate unperceived even to the very guard-room, whose inmates, too busily engaged in carousing and gaming to be aware of their proximity, were easily routed and put to flight with the loss of sundry of their arquebuses. But the sentries outside, alarmed by this time by the unusual uproar, concentrated near the guard-house, and in their turn repulsed their late assailants. In the meantime the routed besiegers fled in haste to a neighbouring hamlet, and alarmed the inhabitants with the intelligence that a large party of royalists was advancing to attack them. The militia mustered in considerable numbers, and marched towards the castle; but the foes they expected to encounter were by this time lodged within the walls. Frequent affairs of this description continued to take place at intervals to the end of September, and although unproductive of any personal injury to either party, beyond the infliction of a few bruises, they sufficed to harass the besiegers, and prevent the completion of their field works.

It will be necessary to quit Mont Orgueil and its vicinity for the present, in order to ascertain what had been taking place meanwhile between the people of St. Helier's and the garrison of Elizabeth Castle.

The townsfolk maintained an armed pinnace constantly afloat, for the purpose of preventing the introduction of supplies into the fortress; while Mr. Hunger-

ford from the castle made reprisals on the fishing boats and other craft conveying provisions to the islanders, by means of a patache moored for immediate service in a small creek which indented the islet. Scarcely a day passed without some running fight between the rival vessels, in which the cemetery redoubt and the castle batteries not unfrequently took part; the affair ending for the most part with a cannonade upon the town, which was responded to but ineffectually from the cemetery.

Hungerford was obliged to confine himself in general to this species of warfare, not possessing the same facilities for harassing the enemy as the heroine of the old castle. Nevertheless, whenever time and tide permitted his soldiers to traverse the causeway, the opportunity was not neglected. On dark nights, when the tide was sufficiently low, these roistering cavaliers never failed to "try the watches," as the phrase went, of the civic guard. A party of cavalry as well as infantry would stealthily cross the bridge to the opposite beach; and when the foot had established an ambuscade among the rocks, the horsemen dashed to and fro along the sands, discharging their pistols and carbines at the sentries, and uttering loud shouts of defiance, until the drowsy sentries, when sufficiently awakened, and provoked beyond endurance, turned out the main-guard. The horsemen, having, as it were, unkennelled their adversaries, retired, leaving them to exchange shots with the musketeers in ambush. After more or less of impotent skirmishing, each party returned to quarters; the rebels uttering vengeance against the mischievous disturbers of their repose, the royalists to exaggerate their exploits over a brimming cup of claret, or *Vin d'Espagne*.

In addition to these "alarums and incursions," Hungerford continued at intervals to bombard the town, with no other apparent motive than that of intimidating the citizens; certainly with no other effect than that of injuring their property, for no serious personal injury resulted. It would seem as if, like the besiegers of Lathom House, "he beat down the turrets and pinnacles to show the people some pastime, or else to please the women that came to see the spectacle." But as gables and roofs were battered down, and as the houses were thickly inhabited, it is difficult to understand how it was that no casualty occurred, since it cannot be assumed that missiles, so well directed, were warranted not to kill.

Our accurate journalist, evidently impressed with the truth of the military axiom, that "every bullet has its billet," not only counts the number of the shots, but records the effect of each with scrupulous minuteness. On Sunday, the 18th of September, he says, two shots were fired from the castle, one of which transpierced the upper story of a house from gable to gable; the other passed harmlessly over the town. On the 25th about thirty cannon balls were discharged, twelve of which struck the church steeple and the wall of the cemetery; the rest damaged a number of houses, but no person was either killed or wounded. During the night of the 29th, there were half-a-dozen shots, all of them taking effect; one in particular, breaking through the roof of a house, lodged in the joists of a room, just over the bed in which a man and his wife and two small children were sleeping. Although awakened by the crash, and covered by the debris, the whole of them escaped, miraculously, without the slightest injury. Another bullet,

breaching an impeding gable, fell through the chimney into the hearth before which an old man was dozing, but merely disturbed his nap, without doing further damage. Many other hair-breadth escapes are enumerated, equally remarkable, and not to be discredited.

In general, when a cannonade was in contemplation, a red flag was hoisted on the upper battlements of the castle, a custom not unusual at that period, it having been adopted by way of defiance by Colonel Hutchinson at Nottingham. In Jersey it appears to have been intended rather as a hint for the royalists to keep out of harm's way, than out of tenderness to the feelings of the parliamentarians: but, as firing frequently took place at dead of night, when the signal could not have been visible, it is to be presumed that some other warning was substituted, equally significant to the initiated. The omission of the blood-red signal is animadverted on by Chevalier as a serious breach of etiquette on the part of the castle garrison.

Little, by way of reprisal, could be executed by the townspeople, for, although the churchyard battery was well posted for annoying the lower portion of the castle, and for raking the causeway in the event of a sortie by daylight, its guns were powerless against the main body of the place. Governor Lydcott, therefore, determined on fortifying the Town Hill, from which eminence the hostile castle was capable of being seriously molested by means of effective ordnance.

In this enterprise he was heartily joined by the heads of the faction who had entirely assumed the direction of civil affairs. It being necessary to stir up the populace in order to obtain pioneers, the Reverend Peter d'Assigny, equally ardent in provoking strife, but

less of a religious enthusiast than his prototype, the Reverend Hugh Peters, readily undertook the task. On the very eve of a sabbath on which the Sacrament was to be administered by him, he, like a firebrand, rushed from house to house, inciting his parishioners to arm before coming to the church; and engaging, when he met them there, to give them full instructions as to the most effective measures to be adopted for crushing their terrible adversaries.

The next day, at the conclusion of the evening service, and without leaving the pulpit, he delivered an inflammatory address to his congregation, composed almost entirely of the, so-called, "well-affected." Appealing to their worst passions, he exhorted them to unite one and all in efforts to subdue their deadly enemies the royalists; and for this purpose he urged them, in addition to their offensive weapons, to provide implements necessary for cutting sods, and carrying earth; in order to throw up ramparts and mount cannon on the heights, with which to beat down those battlements from whence their peaceful dwellings had been so often battered about their ears.

Perceiving, however, that his hearers, including even his warmest partisans, were horrified at the idea of desecrating the sabbath by such an undertaking, he proceeded to expound to them with most sacrilegious sophistry that "the sabbath was made for man, not man for the sabbath; that it was lawful, even on the Lord's-day, to take means for spoiling the spoilers; for turning the arms of their enemies against themselves, and for fighting them with their own weapons."

Giving his auditors no time for consideration or discussion, this truculent rector, more like a ravening

wolf than the pastor of a Christian flock, hastily descended from the pulpit, flung aside his sacerdotal garments, and, equipped *in cuerpo*, was soon seen bearing armsful of spades and mattocks from the presbytery to the churchyard, and distributing them among the bystanders. They betrayed little alacrity, nevertheless, in making use of the tools thus unexpectedly placed in their hands, hesitating on account of its being Sunday. Observing this, he obtained from his own cellars a quantity of cider, which he served out as liberally as he had done the spades and mattocks; and as the fumes of the beverage mounted to the brains of the consumers, they forgot their former scruples, and volunteered their immediate services. Placing himself at the head of this half-inebriated band, he marched onward to the summit of the hill, and the spot being already marked out, the whole body set to work without further ceremony, and continued to dig and delve, assisted by copious libations, so long as daylight lasted.

The next morning early they resumed their labours, and notwithstanding frequent attempts, by volleys of round shot from the castle, to damp their ardour, a sconce was completed before the evening. In the course of the ensuing night they mounted a demi-cannon, which had been dragged up the hill by the united efforts of a number of the townswomen, who watched the proceedings with intense satisfaction.[1] By dawn of day the solitary gun began to play upon the hitherto unassailable castle, which returned the fire with

[1] The women of Nottingham, about the same period, appear to have been equally zealous, perambulating the town "nightly by fifties," to prevent the suburbs from being set on fire by the malignants.—*Hutchinson's Memoirs.*

interest, but little effect, its cannon not being susceptible of sufficient elevation to enable the shot to tell.

During the remainder of the week the rebels amused themselves in trying their new gun; but its destructive properties not answering expectation, four others were transferred to the hill from St. Aubin's, where they had lain idle since their landing, in consequence of the want of co-operation between Lydcott and the authorities; each pulling in opposite directions: "les uns haloient au feu, et les autres à l'eau," quaintly observes Chevalier.

In spite of repeated firing from the castle, the new works proceeded rapidly; additional labourers being enlisted: one party labouring hard all day in cutting turf on the slope of the hill, out of reach of the shot; the other occupied during the night in casting up mounds of earth, and revetting them with sods. So that when each successive morning dawned, the garrison of the fortress beheld with dismay a fresh embrasure; and from a sconce considerably in advance of the main battery, discovered a long iron gun pouring forth its missiles upon them, at point-blank range.

In the course of these proceedings, Lydcott sought to ascertain the exact number of the militia force, and the political sentiments most prevalent among them, so as to discover the proportion which the "well-affected" bore to the "refractory," and to form an estimate of the precise amount of those who might be available in case of need. For this purpose the companies belonging to each of the twelve parishes were mustered on a certain day, in the market-place of St. Helier's, where he inspected them in person.

After the review, D'Assigny, acting now in the capa-

city of military chaplain, harangued the troops, and represented to them, that since it had pleased the king (!) and the parliament to appoint over them so trustworthy a governor, it was their duty to obey his commands implicitly. Sir Philip's death, he said, having released them from former engagements, they would be acting contrary to their allegiance, in countenancing or supporting those rebels, who, in defiance of the British government, maintained the castles, entirely by the aid of strangers,—English, Irish, Cornish, and Frenchmen,—every one of them papists.[1] He furthermore asserted that Captain Carteret was negotiating to sell the island to the king of France,[2] and that therefore it behoved them, one and all, to swear allegiance, without hesitation, "to the king and the parliament."

At the conclusion of his discourse, which was a very long one, the officers of all ranks being collected into one group, he read to them the following form of oath:—

"Vous jurez par la foi et serment que vous devez à Dieu, que vous serez fidèles au Roi, et au Parlément, et au Lieutenant-Gouverneur, qu'ils ont envoyé, et que vous êtes prêts de vivre et mourir à son service, et obeir à ses commandements."

D'Assigny then proceeded along the ranks, reciting the oath to the privates, and requiring both them and the officers to lift up their right hands to God as a token of their subscribing to the oath that had been prescribed. Some of them obeyed, but numbers turned their backs upon him, pretending not to hear what was

[1] Sic.

[2] From a document in the State-paper Office, it appears that an unfounded rumour of this kind was current in the islands at the time.

said. The governor then cashiered several of the officers for disobedience, and appointed others in their places. Amongst those who were dismissed was Mr. John Dumaresq, colonel of four parishes,[1] who was furthermore placed under arrest; not so much on account of his personally refusing to take the oath, but for fear that his conduct should serve as a bad example to the rest.

In the midst of these transactions, the square being crowded with people, civilians as well as soldiers, the reports from the castle guns resounded in their ears, to the great consternation of the multitude. Some threw themselves down to avoid the shots, and the rest, flying from the square in the utmost confusion and alarm, trampled upon their recumbent comrades. The balls, fortunately intercepted by the church steeple, fell harmlessly into the square, and by a miracle, no person was seriously injured.

The governor, annoyed at finding that by one means and the other numbers of peasantry had managed to elude the oath, and being determined to enforce it as extensively as possible, he employed several succeeding days in visiting the country parishes, for the purpose of superintending its administration. Some at first persisted in refusing to swear obedience to him, and demanded to be allowed to deliberate; but finding at length that further contumacy on this point rendered them liable to prosecution as "refractories, and enemies to the parliament," they conformed.

This species of test act, suggested by D'Assigny, and intended to compromise the inhabitants at large, by

[1] Lieutenant-bailiff under Sir Philip Carteret, the firmest of his friends and adherents.

identifying them with the English rebels, was far from answering the purpose. The lower orders generally subscribed to the oath with reluctance, quieting their consciences by mental reservations; the upper classes, being, with the exception of the factious party, royalists at heart, were too timorous to reject it openly; and even those who were inclined in favour of parliamentary rule, regarded it as tyrannical and oppressive. The consequence was, that many influential individuals, moderate parliamentarians as well as royalists, remembering that on a former occasion some of their compatriots had been detained by the rebels on board the frigates, and being apprehensive of experiencing the like treatment themselves, secretly absconded, and fled to St. Maloes. Here they joined Captain George Carteret, the rightful bailiff, who made France his head-quarters, and from thence narrowly watched the progress of events in Jersey; determined, on the first favourable opportunity, to return to the island and rescue it from the grasp of the insurgents; and maintain it and the castles for the royal cause. Others chose rather to remain in their native place; carefully concealing themselves, nevertheless, in remote parts of the country.

It soon became evident that the fears which induced some to conceal themselves, others to flee their country, were far from groundless. Lydcott, conscious of increasing unpopularity, sought to establish his authority by arbitrary, and, in many instances, cruel measures,—hunting out persons suspected of the least leaning towards loyalty; despoiling them of their property; and punishing others severely for the most trifling political offences.

He sent out a party of armed horsemen to scour the country, with orders to seize all refractories; to track those who were lying *perdu* to their hiding places; and to plunder the dwellings of those who had escaped from the island. This party was placed under the guidance of Le Boutillier, who from the commencement of the local troubles had, as we have seen, distinguished himself for his turbulence. These marauders in the first place proceeded to the residence of Colonel Dumaresq, with the intention of arresting him and his brother, but finding that they had fled and were by that time safe in France, they took possession of the fowling-pieces, whatever other weapons they could find, and every thing else they could conveniently appropriate. After ransacking the houses and premises of all the suspected gentry on their route, pillaging all that was valuable or portable, and abducting the very horses from the stables, they came to the parsonage of St. Ouen. The rector, Monsieur La Cloche, well known as a determined royalist, being at a marriage feast in one of the neighbouring farm-houses, they followed him thither. Le Boutillier, pistol in hand, burst into the room in which a large party of wedding guests was assembled at supper, and attempted to lay violent hands on the minister. The young farmers, however, not relishing this interruption of their festivities, resisted the outrage; wrenched the pistol from the ruffian's hand; ejected him summarily, and rushed out to attack his companions, who, unprepared for so rough an encounter, fled precipitately.

Monsieur La Cloche, although rescued from immediate capture, did not consider himself safe from sub-

sequent attempts of the same nature; and unwilling to be again kidnapped and incarcerated on board ship, took boat that same night and effected his escape to St. Maloes. Soon after his departure the greater portion of his household goods was removed from the parsonage, and the whole of the horses and cattle were brought from his glebe to town, and confiscated by order of the governor "for the uses of the State." This being an inexpensive method of providing for his immediate wants, Lydcott from time to time recurred to it, and, before long, directed D'Assigny to engage some trustworthy person to conduct another foraging party to La Cloche's estate.

The renegade monk, who had little regard for protestant cloth, and no objection to aid in despoiling a brother rector, accordingly repaired to his own church, which he had permitted to be profaned by conversion partly into a prison, partly into a *corps de garde*, and entering the guard room, which was occupied by creatures of his own, he selected the most graceless vagabond to head the band. In those times of disturbance, it must be remarked that the most worthless miscreants were employed in services of this nature, but held up to the citizens as marvellously well-affected persons,—models worthy of imitation.

D'Assigny instructed this fellow, thoroughly versed in every species of roguery, to superintend the sequestration, as he phrased it, of whatever remaining property should be found in the St. Ouen's presbytery, or on the adjoining farm. For the purpose of conveying the spoil to town, he was directed to impress the horses and carts of the neighbours, in the name of the king,—

a name which was invariably invoked by the rebels to sanction their iniquitous proceedings. In addition to the official orders given to the employé, it was hinted to him confidentially, that it would be as well for him to be provided with an efficient mallet and other tools for tearing up the flooring of the house, which was in process of renovation, and for breaking down the joists and rafters. "There is no doubt," observes our accurate journalist, "that this order was given as I have recorded it;—it was repeated to me by the very man who received it; but it was not carried into execution." The work of devastation was performed that same night; and the following morning, besides other commodities, cartloads of seasoned wood, destined for the repair of the house and for other domestic uses, were transported from St. Ouen's to the Town Hill. The wood was at once employed in the construction of carriages and platforms for the cannon, and in building barracks for the soldiers.

The wives, children, and other relatives of officers and soldiers forming part of the garrisons, now became the objects of the governor's persecutions. He either compelled them to seek refuge in the castles along with their friends, or drove them to escape from the island, as best they might. In either case their houses were pillaged, and occupied by his unscrupulous adherents, who consumed their provisions; sold the contents of their barn-yards; cut down their timber for fuel; broke open their coffers, making free with whatever valuables they contained, and destroying their account-books, family papers and parchment deeds.

Some men were arrested for openly asserting that

Lydcott was despotic and tyrannical, that he was not the king's representative, but merely the parliament's, and by right possessing no authority; they were moreover denounced for having called the people of St. Mary's, a "well affected" parish, *Cornouaillais* (Cornish-men),—a most opprobrious epithet apparently in those days. For these offences they were confined for two days and a night in the church of St. Helier's, their arms pinioned, and they were bound neck and heels with match-cord, and that so tightly that the blood gushed from their mouths and nostrils. Another man, a poor half-witted creature, was apprehended on his way to the old castle on suspicion of carrying a letter, but none was found upon him. On being put to the torture, he confessed that a letter had been entrusted to him by the rector and constable of St. Ouen, which he had thrown into the sea. He was released, but the two gentlemen, whose names he had revealed, were dragged from their beds at midnight, and imprisoned.

Lady Carteret about this time sent an urgent message to the officer in command of the investing party, requesting that a pass and safe-conduct might be granted for a midwife, as there was a poor woman in the castle who had been in *travail* for three days, and must infallibly die unless proper assistance were afforded her. The message was transmitted to head quarters; a verbal answer was returned to the effect that no midwife should be permitted to enter the walls, and that Lady Carteret might perform the office herself if she chose. This she accordingly did, rising out of her own sick-bed for that purpose; and, by the blessing of God, the poor woman was happily delivered. It now became a question as to the baptism of the infant; when, after some

demur, it was allowed to be conveyed to the parish church, naked as it was born, lest any letter might be concealed in the swaddling-clothes.

So considerable was the number of refractories arrested at this time, that the town church had become insufficient for their detention. In order therefore to provide a more secure and roomy prison, Lydcott determined upon refitting the tower of St. Aubin's, which had remained unoccupied ever since it had been "slighted," to use a military term of that epoch, by Captain Jones. He likewise bethought himself that, if re-fortified, it would serve to protect ships entering the harbour of St. Aubin's, and prevent his provision boats from being molested by Hungerford's mischievous *patache*. The ramparts were in consequence repaired, guns were mounted, a guard-house was built, and Lieutenant Brand, one of his English officers, with a small garrison, took possession.

The occupation of this fort by an enemy became a source of vast inconvenience and disappointment to the worthy seneschal of Elizabeth Castle, on domestic as well as public grounds, because it threatened to interrupt a plan of correspondence he was about to establish with his wife. That lady and her three daughters had for some time resided in the town of St. Aubin's; and, at a certain hour every day, one or other of them was in the habit of walking on the pier, within sight of the new castle, so that the seneschal by the aid of his perspective-glass might see them, and thus be assured that all was well in his domestic circle. Being desirous, however, of obtaining more particular intelligence on various subjects of interest to him, public as well as private, he devised an ingenious code of signals, which he enclosed in a letter to his wife.

By this code, perfectly unique in character, Mrs. Hungerford was instructed to hang out on a line in the garden, as if to dry, certain articles of household linen and personal apparel, so arranged that a mere glance through the telescope might convey information as certainly and speedily as is done, in the present day, by electric telegraph.

Among other signals agreed upon, we may state that Mrs. Hungerford was directed to display three sheets simultaneously, in token of success having attended the king's arms; one sheet only, if the news was unfavourable; and, in the absence of any kind of intelligence good or bad, two sheets, with a couple of *chemises* interposed. The poverty of the French language, in which the account is written, does not enable us to determine the sex of the last-mentioned articles; but all things considered, we are disposed to assign to them the feminine rather than the masculine gender. Unfortunately, the letter explaining this curious system of intercommunication was intercepted by the insurgents, who, arriving at the conclusion that Mrs. Hungerford's very garments were redolent of treason, threatened to confine her in the tower, or immure her with her devoted husband in the castle. The lady, not approving of either alternative, both of which tended to limit her sphere of locomotion, eloped with two of her daughters to St. Maloes, leaving the third in charge of the house.

In consequence of the repugnance manifested by the inhabitants to the oath of allegiance, attempted to be forced upon them by Lydcott, he arrived at the conclusion, that Prynne's opinion was not altogether erroneous; and, that the close committee had too credulously relied on, and too readily yielded to, the solicitations of a

petty faction, utterly reckless of consequences, so that under the countenance of the parliament they might work out their schémes of private malice and personal aggrandizement. Far from finding, as had been represented by Herault, that the majority of the islanders were in favour of the parliament, and only required "a chief commander" to direct them, he discovered that more than two-thirds were in fact passive, if not active royalists, and that the remainder were either indifferent, or by no means agreed among themselves on political subjects: some declared openly that, "if the king sent forces to the island, not a single individual would raise a finger to oppose them;" and many more tacitly assented to the proposition.

With the exception of Lemprière, the two Bandinels, D'Assigny, and their satellites, who could only recruit their ranks from the dregs of the people, and that, only by misrepresentation and incessant agitation, the governor had few staunch supporters beyond his own immediate followers. It is true that a certain *prestige*, arising from his connexion with the English rebels, added to the pecuniary rewards at his disposal, secured the obedience of a portion of the militia. But he could never feel assured of their permanent fidelity; and even if he had, the castles were too strongly garrisoned, and too amply provided with stores, to be in any danger from such a handful of men as those under his command.

Aware of all these circumstances, and anxious to extricate himself from the false position in which he was placed,—his means being insufficient for defence, and still less for offensive operations—he despatched his brother-in-law to the Earl of Warwick for a small squadron of frigates to keep the castles in check, as well as to pre-

vent supplies from being thrown into them with impunity by Captain Carteret. He furthermore besought the Earl to use his influence in procuring for him "a reinforcement of two or three hundred soldiers, to assist in reducing the fortresses, and securing the island for the parliament." No attention, however, appears to have been paid to these requisitions by the captain-general of the islands; at all events, no succours were sent over to him.

Early in the month of October, the fortifications on the hill were so far completed as to be fit for service; and frequent interchange of volleys ensued between their artillery and that of the castle. If the latter opened a fire upon the island trading craft, or upon carts, horsemen, or foot-passengers coming unwarily within range of their guns, the hill forts returned the compliment at once. Day by day, and night after night, showers of missiles whizzed through the air, but as yet without the occurrence of any serious accident on either side, beyond wounds inflicted by the bursting of a gun, owing to the mismanagement of a bungling cannoneer. At length, however, on Saturday the 7th, an event happened which hastened the crisis, and may be regarded as "the beginning of the end" of this year's campaign.

It being a grand market-day, or, more properly speaking, a sort of fair, the public square and all its avenues were thronged with strangers as well as islanders; the former being chiefly traders from the adjacent coasts of France, come over to barter provisions, horses and cattle for woollen fabrics, such as knitted *caleçons,* stockings, and Jersey frocks: much sought after even in those days.

The red banner of defiance and mischief not being unfurled on the castle ramparts, it was not calculated

that any firing would take place on that day. But suddenly the booming of cannon was heard, and before the buyers and sellers could recover from their surprise, a shower of bullets, directed with more than usual precision, crashed against the buildings in the square, shattering doors and windows, and scattering splinters of wood and fragments of glass around. One shot, however, more inveterate than any of its precursors, struck an unfortunate Norman peasant, as he stood higgling with an island dealer about the price of a horse, and killed him upon the spot: passing through his body, and impinging on a stone wall, it rebounded and buried itself in the carcase of his horse, which thus perished with as much glory as its master.[1] The piercing cry "A man is killed!" resounded high above the late monotonous hum of business-like conference; to this succeeded shouts and screams of pain and terror, as the panic-stricken mass rushed towards the overcrowded avenues, and, in their efforts to escape crushing and trampling on each other, breaking down the stalls and booths, regardless of the merchandise and money they had but a moment before been so chary of.

The news of this unexpected catastrophe spread rapidly throughout the town and country, causing general consternation. For months the islanders, and especially the burghers, had been subjected to all the annoyance of contentions, in which, with few exceptions, they had not participated. Their lives in constant peril; their houses battered about their ears; their

[1] Chevalier took the trouble of verifying the presence of this fatal ball, and tells us that the dead horse was dragged outside the town, and after the dogs had gnawed the flesh from its bones, the ball was found in its carcase.

property exposed to the depredations of the mob; their friends and relatives pillaged and proscribed; wounds had been inflicted and blood had been spilt; all this they bore without much murmuring, and it was not until a human victim had actually been immolated before their eyes, that they could be aroused from their apathetic indifference.

Although at last awakened to some sense of indignation, at feeling that they were victimized by a small band of selfish demagogues, they had not as yet courage to redress their own wrongs, or energy to shake off the yoke; but contented themselves with imparting their feelings and their grievances to their correspondents at St. Maloes. The factious party, however, aware of this correspondence, and that the reaction against them, feeble as it was, might lead to untoward results, sought, after the fashion of the English rebels, to cast a show of religion over their execrable actions, by appointing a fast day, in order, as it was alleged, to appease Divine wrath, by prayer and humiliation. Chevalier on this remarks: "The calumnies, detractions, and other depravities which have been the source of all the calamities that have befallen us, prove that we are but little worthy of suing for Divine grace. Nevertheless, may it please God, of his infinite mercy, to purify and soften our hearts, that so by prayer and repentance we may hope to avert the just vengeance, which by our transgressions we have provoked."

As far as extrinsic forms were concerned, the fast was observed on the appointed day with puritanical decorum, but the truly pious portion of the community regarded it in no other light than that of a sacrilegious mockery. Little benefit was expected from it, and the

expectation was realized. The hearts of the factious party remained as hardened as ever, and they continued the strife with as much animosity as before. The people of the new castle, rendered more inveterate by futile retaliation, increased the charge of their guns, pointed them with better aim, and fired more incessantly upon the town, the hill forts, and the provision boats. Those of the old castle, in like manner, harassed the besiegers with their ordnance, and attacked them in their trenches more frequently than heretofore. The departure of the blockading squadron at this period not only allowed freer intercourse between Mont Orgueil and France, but enabled the garrison to concentrate their hostile efforts against their enemies on shore.

Lady Carteret, however, found it necessary to forbid these repeated sallies; for, although she had been reinforced from France[1] since the departure of the squadron, sickness had broken out among her troops, and she feared that, if any of her men were killed in these encounters, her garrison would be so weakened as to prevent her from repelling any sudden assault; an event by

[1] We derive the following corroborative evidence from a letter of Colonel Henry Osborne, one of Prince Rupert's officers, dated Weymouth, October 16th, 1643, which contains the following passage:—

"Captain Carterit hath sent lately to Sir John Berkeley to send over some men to Saint Malo for Jersey and Guernsey, and I have desired Sir John that the men may be equally divided; that when they come to St. Malo it may be in my mother's power to send half of them to Guernsey, if she shall think it needful, which he hath promised me shall be done. However I intend to take a journey to Exeter to make it surer."

The mother above alluded to was Lady Osborne, wife of Sir Peter, then blockaded in Castle Cornet. She resided at St. Maloes, in order to provide her husband with provisions out of her own private resources.

no means improbable. Nevertheless, the ardour of her soldiers was not at all times to be restrained.

In defiance of the prohibition not to expose themselves to danger without special orders, parties of them contrived to leave the castle privately at night, and indulged in a little skirmishing, whenever any unwonted provocation was offered by the enemy, or whenever any weak point in their array could be detected. On one occasion in particular, when it was ascertained that a party, intended to relieve their guard, was delayed upon the road, Captain Dumaresq, who had commanded former attacks with much skill and courage, determined to beat up their quarters without the sanction of the *chatelaine*.

Stealthily issuing forth from one of the posterns of the fortress, he conducted a detachment along devious by-paths to the verge of the entrenchments. Falling suddenly upon the enemy about daybreak, a sharp encounter took place; two of them were killed, three more wounded, and the rest were preparing to fly, when the guard unexpectedly coming up to the rescue, the retreating troops rallied, and, encouraged by the presence of their comrades, now acted on the offensive. Dumaresq, in danger of being overwhelmed, hastily retreated, hotly pursued by the enemy, who at length, overawed by a discharge of cannon from the ramparts, gave up the chase, and the royalists regained the castle without sustaining any loss. The rebels, however, being determined not to return without some trophy as a proof of their prowess, purloined three horses belonging to the castle, from the adjacent pastures, and bore them away to their entrenchment, as a

sort of offering to the manes of those who had fallen in the first onset.[1]

The news of this affair, the most sanguinary that had yet occurred, spread rapidly from parish to parish, until it reached St. Helier's, where it was reported that the greater part of the garrison of Mont Orgueil had made an attack upon the besiegers, of whom many were killed, and many more taken prisoners. Hereupon the ever ready tocsin began to peal; and the drums beat to arms; but the militia, warned by the well-known signals, had no sooner assembled at the rendezvous, than the exaggerated rumour, which had caused so much consternation, was officially contradicted. In the mean time, the commandant of Elizabeth Castle, perceiving that the town was in great consternation, proceeded to increase it by hoisting the red flag, and firing a broadside.[2]

Lydcott, disappointed at receiving no sort of succour, naval or military, from Lord Warwick, in spite of his earnest supplications, now began to despair of being able to reduce Elizabeth Castle; the guns of which he had not succeeded in silencing, even for a single day. It became evident to him that, without ships to blockade it by sea, without heavy ordnance to bombard it by land; without disciplined troops to assault it, even in the event of a breach being rendered practicable, he must abandon

[1] Insignificant as may appear the list of killed, wounded, and prisoners, quadrupeds as well as bipeds, it is not without its parallel in the official returns of larger armies even in the present century.

[2] One of the shots intruded into a room in the presbytery, where a group of D'Assigny's frightened children and servants were huddled together. The unwelcome visitor, however, did no further mischief than that of increasing their alarm.

the attempt. On the other hand, as he was much exasperated at the pertinacity with which the defenders of Mont Orgueil were harassing his men, and impeding the progress of his works, he determined forthwith to resume offensive operations against that fortress, presuming that it might readily be carried, being more within range of his comparatively impotent siege artillery, and more assailable by land.

Chevalier gives it as his opinion, that if Lydcott, instead of wasting time and ammunition against the new castle, had persevered in his original operations against the old, especially when he had a squadron to co-operate with him, the castle would not have resisted long. But by this time Lady Carteret was in a much better state of preparation for defence; the health of her soldiers was re-established, their numbers were recruited daily, and her fortifications had been repaired and strengthened.

Lydcott, notwithstanding these additional impediments, proceeded to take measures for bombarding the fortress. He sent reinforcements to his lately neglected troops, appointed the most skilful of his few British officers to superintend the works, with orders to repair those which had been injured, and to hasten the extension of the lines by new trenches and ramparts. Orders were likewise issued that the twelve parishes should each furnish a contingent of forty men, and provide them with sufficient rations for forty-eight hours' consumption. One of these contingents was directed to work in the trenches for two days and nights consecutively, then to be relieved by forty men from another parish, and so on in rotation, till the completion of the projected ramparts; and for the purpose of protecting the pioneers from the incursions of the royalists, a strong guard was stationed in

the adjacent village of Gouray, from whence the gates of the castle could be closely watched.

During these preliminary arrangements, active hostilities ceased for a day or two against both castles; but on the 27th of October they recommenced with great vivacity and energy in St. Helier's and its vicinity. Throughout the day, incessant messages were fiercely exchanged from the cannon's mouth between the new castle, the hill forts, and the town batteries, in consequence of an audacious attempt on the part of a royalist frigate, newly arrived, to kidnap the ringleaders of the faction, including the redoubtable Lydcott.

George Bowden, formerly a parliamentarian, was captain of this frigate. But, before entering into particulars relating to the treacherous affair in which he was then engaged, it will be proper to give some brief account of his previous history. His first recorded visit to Jersey was, as we have seen, during the preceding month of July, when, in company with his worthy colleague, Captain Copping, he made his appearance in full chase of a vessel sailing under a commission from Lord Hopton. After this abortive exploit, he joined the rebel squadron off Mont Orgueil, in command of a frigate, not unaptly called the *Bramble*. Either out of zeal for the cause, or a desire to be engaged in more active service, he volunteered to perform a little *coup-de-main* in favour of the leaders of the insular faction; engaging, on condition of being supplied with a stated number of men, and a specified amount of stores, to land with his boats' crews on the islet; carry Elizabeth Castle by surprise; and deliver it into the hands of the committee. This proposal, although exceedingly tempting, was declined, in consequence of its bearing too

close a resemblance to that recently made by Copping, the result of which had been by no means profitable or agreeable. We shall find hereafter that some others of Bowden's exploits in the Channel archipelago were equally discreditable. They are curiously illustrative of the stratagems which, at that period, were considered not only justifiable, but highly commendable,—master-strokes of ingenuity: nevertheless they tend to favour the conjecture that the rudiments,—the mere rudiments, perchance, of buccaneering had not been neglected in his early education.

The rebel ships gradually dispersing from before the old castle, Bowden also took his departure, and, steering for Guernsey, there completed his term of service with parliament like an honest mercenary,—for such he was, in spite of his peccadilloes,—serving those most faithfully who paid most liberally. Having taken care to secure arrears of pay and prize-money, he betook himself to private speculations until driven by stress of weather into Dartmouth. This town had recently surrendered to the royalists under Prince Maurice; who, aware of Bowden's character as an expert, daring seaman, of wavering politics, and not over-scrupulous withal, made him offers which he accepted; and gave him certain instructions which he engaged to fulfil to the best of his ability, in conjunction with another sea-captain: as we learn from the evidence which follows:—

"Instructions to Capt[n] Sympson & Bowden how to proceed against the rebels of Guernsey and Jersey, &c.

"1. You shall to the uttmost of your power seize or cause to be seized upon the persons of the Chieffe Rebells

in the Ilands of Garnsey and Sark, and them safely bring to one of the Westerne ports of this Kingdome now in obedience to his Ma^tie, and there keepe or cause them to bee keept untill you shall recieve his Ma^ts, or my further orders; or otherwise you shall imprison them in the Castle of Garnsey, as the Governour shall thinke fitt.

"2. You shall by faire meanes or force gett into your hands the forts and strengths of those two Ilands in the execucõn whereof you shall (soe soone as the advantage of the service will permitt) acquaint S^r Peter Osborne Lievtenant Governour of those Ilands with your Designe, and advise with, and be directed by him concerning your manner of proceeding in those two Ilands of Garnsey and Sark.

"3. You shall togeather with S^r Peter Osborne, after the surprisall of the chiefest Rebells (y^t they can possibly bee surprised) promise a generall Pardon to all other Inhabitants of the two Ilands which have beene mislead, or forced to take up Armes against his Ma^tie, in case they instantly upon publicacõn of the aforesaid Pardon shall lay downe, and surrender their Armes, and returne to their loyall and dutyfull obedience to his Ma^tie.

"4. You shall make knowne how traterously, and falsly his Ma^tie hath bene abused by many malicious, and forged reports, as if hee intended to introduce Popery into this kingdome. And for the invincible proofe of the contrary you shall produce, and publish his Ma^ties solemn protestacõn made at Oxõn imediately before his receiving of the holy Sacrament.

"5. What Pardon or Priviledge you shall graunt to the two Ilands of Garnsey and Sark shall extend to the equall benefitt of all other little Ilands under their

Jurisdiction; And what Condicõns soever you two, or the survivor of you two (in case one should miscarry) shall agree unto with the consent and advise of Sir Peter Osborne under his and your hands and seales, for the settling in Peace, and reducing to his Ma^ts^ obedience the aforesaid two Islands, to the best advantage of his Ma^ts^ service, I shall upon the word of a Prince make good under my hand, and seale att Armes, and procure his Ma^ts^ gracious Confirmacõn thereof given.

"This beeing done you shall sett sayle for Jersey, where yo^w^ shall proceede in all particulers concerning the seizeing and ymprisoning of the chiefe Rebells there, and graunting pardon to the rest, and for the setling of the peace of that Iland and reducing y^tt^ to his Ma^ts^ obedience to the best advantage of his Ma^ts^ service, according to the advice and direction of Colo: George Carterett, or the Commander in Chiefe there for his Ma^ty^. And whatsoever Condicõns you two or the survivo^r^ of you two shall agree unto with the consent and advice of Colo: George Carterett, or the Commander in Chiefe there for his Ma^ty^, under his and your hands and seales, I shall likewise upon the word of a Prince, make good under my hand and seale att Armes, and procure his Ma^ts^ confirmacõn thereof. Given at Milton[1] under my hand and seale att Armes the 20^th^ of Oct. 1643.

"To Capt Williã Sympson
& Capt George Bowden." [2]

This paper has no signature; the date and address are in a different handwriting from the rest of the docu-

[1] Milton, near Kingsbridge.

[2] This and the documents which follow are printed in Tupper's Chronicles; but we have preferred the original to the modern version.

ment, and appear to have been written by the same person who wrote the following letter to Sir Peter Osborne, bearing the signature of Prince Maurice:—

"SIR,

"I am for his Ma^tys most important service, and in his name to entreate and require you w^th y^r best power to assist Captaine William Sympson, and Capt George Bowden according to their Instruccõns, whereof I send you a coppy here inclosed.

"I have given a Commission to Capt George Bowden to comãund the George of Dover for this ꝑsent expedicõn of Garnesey according to the contents of his oath, w^ch Î likewise send you herew^th.

"I have allsoe sent Captaine William Sympson to assist in this buisness: Moreover I send you a reciprocall oath taken betweene them two and Captaine Sympson's Lieuteñnt, who are onely acquainted w^th the buisness.

"ffor what yo^u shall agree unto & ꝑforme according to the contents of the aforesaid instruccõns of Captaine Sympson and Capt Bowden this shall bee yo^r warrant. And soe I bidd yo^u hartily farewell.

MAURICE.

"Milton 20 Oct 1643."

"Captain Bowden's oath to perform a secret Expedition against the Rebels in Guernsey, &c.:—

"I George Bowden doe promise by God's assistance and the best of my endeav^rs to sett sayle from this harbo^r of Dartmouth for the Iland of Garnsey, and there to anker upon the bank (as formerly I have done),[1] and then to send for Mounsier Le Grange[2] aboard my Shipp, (hee

[1] When in the Parliament's service.

[2] Mr. Peter de Beauvoir.

being chiefe commissioner for the Rebells) and for some of the Governo[rs] company, pretending that I am not well, and that I have brought good news from England. By which message I am certaine they will come unto me; And after their beeing aboard, I shall compell them to write to the rest of the Commissioners to come aboard likewise aboute buisnes of great importance. And in the meane tyme whilst they are aboard I will write to Mrs. Saundrie, an English gentlewoman very well affected to his Ma[ts] service, to acquaint all the Justices and Gentlemen that are for his Ma[ty] to make a party, and meet w[th] mee att a ffort called St. Sampsons w[ch] is fortifyed for a retreat for the Governo[r] of the Rebells there. I shall first enter that ffort w[th] my owne men because they are knowne, and will bè trusted; w[th] them I will make it good till Captaine Sympson's men come to mee. And afterward, by holding thereof, I shall settle the Ilands in obedience to his Ma[ty]. And I shall faithfully publishe his Ma[ts] solemne and pious protestacõn made att Oxford upon the [date not given], upon his sacred knee imediately before the receaving of the holy Sacram[t] for the maintaining of the true protestant religion. This I shall to my uttmost power endeavor to performe, upon all the three Ilands of Garnesey, Jersey and Sarke. And all this I sweare by the contents of this bõoke now to me produced. Soe helpe mee God. And for the ꝑformance hereof I hereunto subscribe my name

" Sworne & subscribed the 18[th] day of October anno 1643 in the ꝑnce of Richard Cave,
EDWARD SEAMOR.

" GEORGE BOWDEN.

" WILLIAM SYMPSON ȝ his m[r]ke."

There is internal evidence, from the contents of this contract, of Bowden's having originated this transcendant scheme. Having exchanged his parliamentary *Bramble* for the *George* of Dover, a frigate mounting twelve patereroes, he set sail from Dartmouth; and arriving in Guernsey on Saturday the 21st of October, about ten o'clock in the morning, cast anchor on the bank. He immediately sent his boat on shore, inviting the parliamentary lieutenant-governor and the commissioners to a conference on board his vessel; pleading illness as an excuse for not landing himself.

Governor Russel, the Lydcott of Guernsey, tantalized by the prospect of good news, sent Captain Sippins, one of his officers, on board to ascertain its purport; and, apparently unsuspicious of Bowden's change of politics, to request that he would capture a vessel laden with stores for the royalist castle, which was anchored beyond reach of the land batteries. Sippins had no sooner set foot on the deck of the vessel than he was, to his infinite surprise, arrested in the king's name. Bowden, anxious to secure the rest of his prey, despatched his boat a second time to the shore, with an urgent request that the committee would come on board his frigate, and an assurance that the royalist vessel should be cared for in due time. His boatswain, finding that the gentlemen had quitted the vicinity of Fermain Bay, followed them to the residence of the governor, where he found them at dinner. On the receipt of this second message, the committee, Messrs. De Beauvoir, De Havilland, and Carey, after some private conference with Russel, resolved to obey the summons. On their way to the place of embarkation, a suspicion crossed their minds that all was not right; but, dismissing the idea

as untenable, they got on board the boat, and soon reached the frigate. The captain received them with open arms, and at once conducted them to the cabin, where they found two other officers, Sympson and his lieutenant, who displayed to their astonished eyes their commission from Prince Maurice, and urged them to go over to the king. This they firmly refused, equally disregardless of fine promises, and threats of imprisonment. Neither menaces nor promises proving of any avail, Bowden hoisted sail, and took them with him to Jersey.

In pursuance of his instructions, and in fulfilment of his engagement, he no sooner cast anchor in the bay of St. Aubin's, than he sent his boat on shore, as he had done at Guernsey, with a request, couched in the same respectful terms, that the governor and the committee would come to him on board, as he was unable to meet them on shore. But Russel, finding that the Guernsey jurats had been spirited away, and anticipating a repetition of the ruse in Jersey, had despatched an express to that effect, which reached Lydcott before Bowden's arrival.

Lydcott, forewarned, and in literal accordance with the proverb, forearmed, took the precaution of concealing a party of armed men among the rocks in the vicinity of the landing place, with the intention of circumventing Bowden, by capturing his boat and crew. Without betraying any sign of misgiving, on receiving the expected invitation, he proceeded to the beach, accompanied by the chief confederates, making signals to the boat to approach and take them all on board. But the boatswain having discovered the ambuscade, and, with great sagacity, discerning in the countenances and demeanour of those on shore that a counterplot was in

contemplation, ordered his men to lie on their oars, and keep the shallop afloat beyond reach of danger.

A parley now took place, during which much persuasive eloquence was fruitlessly expended on both sides; the landsmen urging the mariners by every argument they could think of to shoal their boat, the seamen endeavouring to ascertain whether the governor and his party had any real intention to embark. At length the controversy was put a stop to by the men in ambush emerging from their concealment: whereupon the boat was put about, and the rowers began to pull away from the shore. The governor's followers, seeing themselves foiled in their attempt to decoy the crew on shore, vented their spleen and disappointment in random shots, and volleys of abuse and imprecations, all equally impotent, which were re-echoed by the taunts and jeers of the boatswain and his men, delighted at having baffled the designs of their adversaries.

As the boat neared the frigate, the land batteries by command of Lydcott commenced firing; the guns of the frigate responded, and in the midst of the uproar Bowden took shelter under the cannon of Elizabeth Castle. Remaining here until the following day, he steered back to Guernsey, displaying "a white flag at the poop of his vessel," as he neared Castle Cornet. Anchoring once more on the "great bank" to the southward of the fortress, he despatched the following elegant epistle to Sir Peter Osborne:—

"From a bord the Georg of Dover, beefor garnesie at anker the 24th of October 1643.

"NOBELL SIR

"peeter my sarves remembred into you thes are to advise you that the 20th day last of this

moneth I was at anker upon the banke and sent for the Comissners with the gover[r] to come a bord for to treat with them for the settling of this Iland of Garnesie and Sarke in peas under the obdence of his magstie we have Comison from the Chife Comander in the west prince morise the which I dout not but pease shall bee conclued I will not adventer to send monsuer Legrange a shore with m Carie and master haviland untell that you haue put out a flage of truets for to treat with the Iland because of ther batries a shore so I rest

" your sarvant to Comand

" GEORGE BOUDEN.

" Wee have other leters from the prince I dare not to send them untell my boat returne.

" To the Right worsh Sir peeter Osbron
Leuftant goufner of Garnesie."

The castle having hoisted the " flage of truets," in compliance with Bowden's request, he and Captain Sympson repaired thither soon after sunset, so that they might avoid being fired upon from the main island. Sir Peter received them courteously, but not quite so satisfactorily as they had expected, for he required them to transfer their prisoners to his custody; stating, as a reason, that the detention of hostages of their rank might tend more readily to bring about an accommodation with the rebel islanders. The captains, however, demurred, they having engaged, for a bribe of fifty gold jacobuses, to land the three gentlemen at Dartmouth, instead of consigning them to the tender care of the sturdy old Cavalier at Castle Cornet. The latter, however, being resolute in his demand, and in a position not only to prescribe terms, but to enforce obedience

to them, the captains were under the necessity of acquiescing. About midnight they returned on board their vessel in high dudgeon, more particularly Sympson, whom Sir Peter had allowed to remain uncovered during the whole of the interview; a great indignity, he considered, being one of the king's own officers. Next evening, at dusk, Sir Peter sent his eight-oared galley, with a party of soldiers under the command of one of his petty officers, on board the *George;* whereupon the captives were given over, and landed at Castle Cornet, where they were some time detained.

The particulars of their imprisonment, the hardships they endured, and their miraculous escape, are circumstantially related in a manuscript written by one of the parties concerned, whose narrative belongs to the history of Guernsey rather than to that of the sister island. Of George Bowden we shall have frequent occasion to make mention, for, from the period of his re-conversion, he continued a staunch royalist; playing a prominent part among the subordinate actors in the scenes which follow. As commodore of Captain George Carteret's small squadron of privateers, we find him bold, enterprising, and indefatigable in all his undertakings; cruising and fighting with a halter as it were round his neck, and certain, if taken by the parliamentarians, of being strung up with little ceremony as a pirate.

We must again return to the hill before Mont Orgueil, where the enemies' works proceeded rapidly, and the *corps de garde* at Gouray was so constantly on the alert, that the castle was completely held in check; and, although the garrison continued to fire on the besiegers, it was impossible, as heretofore, to beat up their quarters. Young Colonel Carteret, second in command

of the castle, in conjunction with the rest of the royalist officers, seeing that there was no chance of raising the siege by force of arms, taxed their ingenuity to devise other measures for making an impression on the enemy. After some consideration, they contrive the following *ruse de guerre;* which, puerile as it may appear in narration, had the effect of creating a sensible diversion in their favour.

"The moon being dark" on the night of the 24th of October, a large boat with muffled oars was despatched clandestinely from the seaward sally-port of the fortress; the commander being ordered to gain a considerable offing as speedily and silently as possible, and lay to till break of day. In addition to a large crew of mariners, the shallop contained about twenty soldiers, a number of officers, and appropriate scenery, machinery, dresses and decorations, for the enactment of a sort of *melo-drame,* as soon as the curtain of morning mist lifted.

Soon after sunrise on the 25th, the besiegers' sentries on the opposite hill reported to their commander that a small vessel was to be descried in the offing, steering her course, under press of canvas, for the castle, apparently from St. Maloes. The alarm gun was fired, and drums beat to arms; every soldier was quickly at his post; and the neighbouring peasantry, aroused from their slumbers, rushed forth to learn the occasion of this uproar. In a short time each headland on that part of the coast was studded with anxious spectators, expecting nothing less than the advent of the redoubtable Captain Carteret, with a large body of forces from St. Maloes. In confirmation of their suspicions, they beheld the garrison of the castle already assembled

en masse upon the eastern ramparts; they heard a royal salute, re-echoed by a volley of musketry from the shallop, as her keel grazed the pebbly beach beneath the walls of the fortress.

The royalists, having secured an audience, and excited sufficient emotion in the hearts of the spectators by this noisy overture, proceeded to play out the drama.

The young Colonel Carteret, armed *cap-à-pié*, first appeared, accompanied by Captains Legge, Dumaresq, and others of his staff, issuing in procession from the water-gate of the castle; next were seen a number of illustrious strangers, who, on landing from the shallop, were received with ostentatious ceremony by the Colonel and his suite: to some of whom, of lofty bearing, arrayed in scarlet mantles, and bedecked with flowing plumes, they bent the knee in homage; others they embraced, welcoming them with the cordial greeting due to distinguished brothers in arms. The new comers having all landed, the *cortège* moved slowly, and in state, along the winding passages and up the narrow steps, preceded by the commandant and his attendants uncovered, with great show of deference. As soon as they were ushered within the gates, the towers of the castle resounded with shouts and acclamations, and again the battlements poured forth reiterated salvos of artillery. The principal characters being thus disposed of, the subordinates, dressed as lacqueys, hurried to and fro, disembarking luggage, and especially some ponderous bags, of which they seemed to be very careful.[1] The stage effect was in all respects as imposing as could be desired; for the attendants having entered

[1] These bags, however, contained nothing more valuable or weighty than sea-weed.

the castle, the guns and shouts being silenced, and the portcullis lowered, the scene was appropriately closed.

No drama was ever more successful; the authors, as well as the performers, having good reason to be satisfied with its result; for the spectators, speedily dispersing, proceeded each to give his own version of the affair. A report was soon conveyed to town that a vessel from France had landed a number of eminent personages elegantly dressed, attended by a well-appointed and considerable retinue. It was thence conjectured that they were merely the precursors of a larger force, intended to assist the Jersey royalists in subduing the island for the king. Lydcott and the other leaders of his party were much perplexed by these rumours, and by finding their men were so much alarmed, that it was with great reluctance they could be induced to continue the labours on the fortifications; several of them were in consequence of their contumacy placed in the stocks by the authorities. The garrison of Mont Orgueil, the day after the stratagem, followed up the advantage they had gained, and increased the panic by a vigorous cannonade upon the workmen, which caused them to suspend operations for a time. Lydcott, partaking of the general alarm, and moreover having cause to anticipate the approaching arrival of George Carteret, determined to prevent a counter revolution, if possible, by taking severe measures against those whom he suspected as most likely to excite a reaction. With this view he assembled the best affected, or rather the least disaffected of the militia, and selecting about two hundred of those on whom he thought he could place most reliance, perambulated the island at their head, with a trumpeter, and two red pennons flying. With this

imposing array he endeavoured to stir up the zeal of the people in favour of the parliament, and paid domiciliary visits to persons suspected of cherishing "refractory" opinions, for the purpose of intimidating them.

Among other houses, he visited that of Francis Carteret, who had all along discountenanced the violent proceedings of his colleagues, and so rendered himself an object of distrust. The moderate committee-man received Lydcott with so much courtesy and self-possession, that he had not the moral courage, during the interview, to reveal the purport of his errand. But resuming audacity after his departure, he addressed him "a few words in writing," warning him of the danger of any longer remaining inert, and urging him to declare his real sentiments openly. To this the cautious Francis replied that he held for the king and the parliament, and was ready to do his best for the welfare of the community. The same evasive answer was returned by the whole of the moderate or neutral party, who, by associating the king's name with the parliament, sought to shelter themselves from blame, whichever party might ultimately prevail.

While these events were in progress, Captain Carteret, through whose energetic exertions the castles of Jersey, as well as that of Guernsey, had been enabled to hold out against the parliamentarians, was impatiently awaiting at St. Maloes instructions and succours from the king. He was well aware of the discontent generally felt, and of late more openly expressed, at the state of anarchy so long prevailing in Jersey. The political refugees by whom he was surrounded assured him that nothing more was required to rally the apathetic neutrals and timid royalists than an accredited leader, who would

meet with little opposition even from the so-called "well affected," most of whom were so weary of long continued broils as to appreciate the blessings of a return to social order. The history of revolutions and counter-revolutions, great or small, ancient or modern, seems to be very similar in all countries; and in translating the details of events occurring in a circumscribed community two centuries ago, our language insensibly and unconsciously assumes a character adapted to more recent events.

Captain Carteret was conscious that the time was approaching when a vigorous *coup d'état* would serve to rescue his countrymen from the thraldom in which they were held by a comparatively insignificant faction. But, although willing enough to encounter the danger of such an attempt, he did not consider himself warranted in undertaking it without specific orders from the higher powers; more particularly as he had, as yet, received no official appointment as successor to his late uncle in the government of Jersey. He was therefore on the point of sending Monsieur La Cloche to Oxford, for the purpose of soliciting the necessary authority, and succour from the king, when a royal messenger arrived at St. Maloes, bringing a confirmation of his commission as bailiff, and his appointment as lieutenant-governor under Sir Thomas Jermyn, together with the further promise that a thousand men should speedily be despatched to his assistance. On the arrival of the messenger, La Cloche's destination was changed from Oxford to Jersey, whither he was ordered to proceed forthwith for the purpose of ascertaining the temper of the people, and concerting measures with them for future operations.

On Saturday the 28th of October, La Cloche arrived in Jersey, and the next day wrote a letter to Lydcott, stating that as the king had been pleased to appoint a legitimate governor, who was on his way to Jersey with a considerable body of troops, it behoved him to look to himself, and no longer usurp an office to which he was not entitled. The superscription of this letter, addressed to the "Parliamentary Governor," offending Lydcott even more than its contents, he ordered the unconscious and unoffending messenger to be brought into his presence. In his rage, he beat him severely, cutting open his head with a stick, and then, tearing up the letter, threw the fragments with vehement indignation into the fire.

The following day, which was Sunday, La Cloche repaired to his parochial church at St. Ouen's; but, finding that the minister appointed to officiate during his exile had already commenced the service, he waited patiently until its conclusion, and then mounting the pulpit he had been wont to occupy by right, proceeded to address the congregation, most of whom rejoiced at his return. He pointed out to them that their duty to God would be most effectually performed by obedience to their earthly sovereign, to whose allegiance he exhorted them to return, assuring them that it was his Majesty's desire to maintain the Protestant form of worship in Jersey as it had been under Queen Elizabeth, and continued under King James her successor. He informed them that their present gracious sovereign vouchsafed to extend his forgiveness to all who had transgressed the law by bearing arms against him, on their tendering instant and unqualified submission. And he also stated that he was directed to convoke the states,

in order to lay a royal proclamation before them, so that they might take proper measures for promulgating his majesty's gracious pleasure throughout the island.

James Bandinel, rector of the adjoining parish, being apprised of La Cloche's proceedings, hastened to communicate them to the dean, his father. This malevolent dignitary immediately reported to his confederates that La Cloche had returned to the island, and was actively engaged in stirring up the islanders, more especially the people of St. Ouen's, to resist the authority parliament had vested in the hands of the governor and the committee. Little argument was necessary to convince them that speedy measures must be had recourse to, in order to apprehend La Cloche, and prevent him from disseminating his "malignant" doctrines.

Lydcott in consequence collected as many of his followers as he could muster on the emergency, and set off that very evening to the parish of St. Mary's, the inhabitants of which were the most staunch among the well affected. Fearful of encountering the refractory people of St. Ouen's with insufficient force, he halted at the house of John Herault, and awaited the arrival of D'Assigny, whom he had left industriously beating up for recruits among the rabble of the town and its environs. This active coadjutor employed the whole night in posting from house to house, rousing his turbulent satellites from their beds, disturbing them from their orgies, and appointing them to meet him forthwith at St. Mary's, under pretence that the people of St. Ouen's were in open revolt.

Early in the morning of the ensuing day, Lydcott with his company of soldiers, and the *coadjutor* with his

troop of banditti, the whole amounting to about two hundred men, marched forward to St. Ouen's, in hopes of falling in with the obnoxious rector. Coming first of all to the church, which was closed, they burst open the door, seized a couple of field guns deposited in the magazine, and caused them to be conveyed to the town. In the next place they forcibly entered the vestry, wrenched off the locks of the strong boxes, seized upon the communion-plate, the money, and even the sacerdotal garments they contained; bearing the whole away to a neighbouring house. But, apprehensive that this outrageous act of spoliation might ultimately be construed into downright sacrilege, the several articles were kept together in a place of safety, and subsequently restored to their depository in the vestry.

Their next expedition was to the dwelling of the constable of St. Ouen's, where they expected to pounce both upon him and his fellow-delinquent the rector; both of whom, however, had previously effected their escape,—the former to Mont Orgueil Castle, the latter to some equally secure retreat.

After searching every corner of the house and outbuildings in vain, the enraged and disappointed ruffians, urged on by the inveterate D'Assigny and no less vindictive Lydcott, proceeded to wreak their vengeance on the goods and chattels of the missing constable. A general scene of pillage and depredation ensued; buffets and coffers were broken open, and their contents shared among the spoilers. All heavy articles of furniture were destroyed, and the more portable articles of value packed up, for what was mildly denominated sequestration,—Lydcott himself not disdaining to appropriate the lion's

share of whatever was best worth having on the premises. The corn in the barn-yard was threshed and put into sacks by his orders, and conveyed to his own residence on the backs of the constable's horses; which, as well as the corn, were retained by the governor as his own especial perquisite.

Whilst those among the depredators, in whom acquisitive propensities preponderated, were thus actively employed, others endued with purely gastronomic predilections were busy at work on the provisions. The garnered bacon was cut up and boiled; ducks, geese, turkeys, and fowls, were cooked before a huge fire, fed by the debris of bed-posts, wardrobes, and partitions; the cellar was laid under extensive contribution; and a festival, of which all partook with savage appetite and glee, crowned the proceedings.

In the meantime Lydcott had detached his respectable father-in-law, at the head of another party of marauders, to ransack the rectory, in search of further spoil. Previous forays, however, had stripped the place of its most valuable effects; in default of which more timber was felled, and doors and window-frames were torn down, so as to be conveyed to St. Helier's to furnish fuel for the governor's kitchen. La Cloche's miller and his other tenants were exposed to similar *brigandage;* they were forbidden, under pain of corporal punishment, to pay him arrears of rents or other debts; but directed to hold the money in hand until called upon by the governor; and, on their promising to observe these directions faithfully, they were themselves relieved from further exaction.

A reward of twenty crowns was offered for the apprehension of La Cloche and his friend; the constables of the

adjoining parishes being ordered to seize upon them wherever they were found, under a personal penalty in the event of their allowing them, if discovered, to escape. The following day the united bands of desperadoes, exulting in the acquisition of so much ill-gotten spoil, returned to town headed by Lydcott and D'Assigny; the latter flourishing a pistol as he went along, as though he had achieved some meritorious action against the enemies of the state.

A few days after his return from this unwarrantable expedition, he obtained Lydcott's sanction to raise another party of men for the purpose of making fresh search after his brother-rector, whom he still suspected of being sheltered by friends or relations in some of the more distant parishes. It was in vain, however, that he beat up for recruits among his former followers, who, not participating in his feelings of personal enmity, refused to aid him if his attempts were still directed against La Cloche. But he assured them that they were merely wanted to assist in unearthing a fox that had done much mischief in the parish of St. Ouen's. Interpreting aright this ambiguous assertion, they persevered in their refusal; so that he was forced to set out with no other companion than an idle vagabond picked up in the bye-ways, with whom for some time he prowled about among the farm-houses in various parts of the country.

"Nous laisserons les chasseurs chasser après la proie," continues Chevalier, "et reviendrons trouver ceux du Chateau Mont Orgueil." The garrison of that fortress, observing that the enemy in the entrenchments was not so active, nor the guard posted at Gouray so vigilant as formerly, determined to resume offensive operations.

About two hours before daybreak on the 4th of November, a small party, issuing from the water-gate of the castle, defiled amid the intervening rocks, and entered the village of Gouray, where they found the soldiers stationed fast asleep in their quarters. This guard consisted of about twenty men, half the contingent furnished by the parish of St. Clement's, under the command of Captain Warton, an English officer, who lodged in a house apart from his men. The royalists, breaking into the house, surprised the officer in bed: starting up as they entered the room, he grasped his sword and endeavoured to defend himself; but, overpowered by numbers, he was disarmed, made prisoner, and sent off to the castle under a file of two of his captors. The rest, pillaging the house of the plate, furniture, and bed linen it contained, returned to the castle without disturbing the still slumbering guard. Captain Warton was soon induced to change sides, and remained faithful to the royal cause ever after.

On the 8th of the same month, the soldiers of Mont Orgueil made another sortie; the militia of St. Saviour's then doing duty in the entrenchments. The assailants were challenged on their approach by a sentry, who was instantly put *hors de combat;* they then scaled the breast-works; attacked their astonished defenders; killed two, and wounded several more; made nine prisoners, and dispersed the remainder. This brilliant and fatal affair proved decisive in raising the siege of Mont Orgueil. Before morning, the works were entirely abandoned by the enemy; a profusion of arquebuses and other weapons fell into the hands of the

victors, together with drums, standards, and entrenching implements. The ordnance, including a battering piece recently mounted, were dismantled, their touch-holes spiked, and their carriages broken to pieces. The ramparts were next demolished, the trenches filled, and in a few hours the fortifications, which had been constructed by the parliamentarians at the expense of so much time and labour, were utterly destroyed.

Colonel Carteret the following day sent out reconnoitring parties, who on their return reported that the enemy's soldiery had entirely evacuated that part of the island. Nothing now remained but to disarm the neighbouring peasantry, which was easily effected, without opposition; most of them coming in and voluntarily surrendering their pikes and matchlocks, being weary of the service into which they had been impressed. They were agreeably surprised to find that the royalists, far from molesting them as they had been led to anticipate, treated them with the greatest indulgence. Instead of laying waste their fields, and levying contributions on their barns and farm-yards, they paid scrupulously for whatever provisions or commodities they required. This judicious and conciliatory treatment led to the most satisfactory results; the soldiers, so long cooped up within the castle walls, were rejoiced to be able to roam at large, and the greatest unanimity prevailed between them and the peasantry, who received them cordially and feasted them bountifully in their cottages.

The strife which continued on the opposite side of the island, was now chiefly kept up by the garrison of Elizabeth Castle; but the townsfolk plied their guns

with much less energy than heretofore, having become disheartened and discontented. Although the royalist envoy, Monsieur La Cloche, had been prevented from sowing the seeds of counter-revolt to any extent, the few sentences which fell from his lips germinated, and soon extended their influence to the inhabitants of the town, who began to inquire of one another, what they were likely to gain by siding with the parliamentarians.

A circumstance occurred about this time, which contributed not a little to damp their ardour, and arouse them to a sense of their condition. On the night of the 6th of November, some recently erected barracks on the Town Hill accidentally took fire, and were entirely consumed; it being impossible to approach them so as to check the progress of the flames in consequence of the incessant discharge of loaded firearms, and the explosion of the gunpowder they contained. In addition to arms and ammunition, drums, pikes and other implements of war, the whole of the clothes, accoutrements, and other effects belonging to the militia men were destroyed. During, and after this occurrence, the houses were battered more furiously than ever by the castle guns, so that the town became most insecure as a place of residence.

These circumstances not only discouraged the soldiery, but had the effect of entirely detaching the majority of the islanders from the ruling powers, whom they now learnt to look upon as the sole authors of their calamities, and to whom they transferred the indignation they had heretofore expended on the royalists.

The reverses which Lydcott had recently experienced

before Mont Orgueil, added to the growing disaffection among the "well affected," perplexed him grievously. "Ne sachant a quel Saint se vouer," observes Chevalier, he convoked the states, who assembled at his bidding on the 13th of November. Without consulting the members of that body, he at once opened proceedings by specially addressing the auditory, whom he exhorted to unite firmly in supporting him and "maintaining the cause of religion," telling them at the same time, that those who were not staunch might either retire to the castles, "or go to the devil." "It must be acknowledged," says our journalist, "that this address was little in accordance with religious or moral principles; but this was not to be wondered at, as Lydcott had become strongly imbued with the doctrines of the new sect of Independents, who repudiated kingly government, and had already engaged in strenuous efforts to abolish royalty."

The members of the states protested against this irregular mode of proceeding, and the promulgation of sectarian dogmas, when affairs of the greatest moment awaited consideration. Lydcott retorted by accusing the committee of first misleading, and then treacherously and in a cowardly manner betraying him: he told them that he bitterly lamented his folly in coming to the island unaccompanied by forces sufficient to overawe them all; and expressed his conviction that the islanders, far from being in the parliamentary interests, as had been affirmed, were one and all, from the beginning to the end, royalists at heart. The members of the legislative assembly rejoined that, instead of wasting time in useless invective, it would be more profitable to concert

measures for checking the progress of what they called mutiny, and in endeavouring to inspire their vacillating partisans with fresh confidence.

In the midst of this stormy debate, a messenger rushed suddenly into the assembly, and announced to Lydcott, that Captain Lawrence, Captain Tally, and two more of his English officers, had gone over to the royalists; that in the great hall of Mont Orgueil Castle, in the presence of Lady Carteret and her officers, they had with their own hands torn and burnt their parliamentary commissions, after taking the oath of fealty to the king and the royal cause. It was also vaguely rumoured that the dean himself, as well as D'Assigny, had been for some time seeking to make their peace with Lady Carteret.

The whole of this intelligence, unexpected as it was unwelcome, spread consternation throughout the assembly, but it served speedily to restore order in the discussions which ensued. The parliamentary committee, finding that factious opposition was now at an end, yielded to the sentiments of the rest of the assembly; after some deliberation it was determined to make overtures for peace, and Francis Carteret, Denis le Guerdain, and one of Lydcott's few remaining officers, were chosen to wait on Lady Carteret the next morning, with proposals for a treaty of mutual accommodation.

Carteret and the officer were admitted into the precincts of Mont Orgueil, and courteously received by the *chatelaine;* but Le Guerdain, who on former occasions had rendered himself peculiarly obnoxious, was refused admittance. The preliminaries having been submitted to a council of royalist officers, a written

answer, addressed to Lydcott and the states, was prepared, with which the deputies returned to their constituents. Lady Carteret, in this document, expressing an earnest desire for the restoration of tranquillity, stipulated that the inmates of the old castle should be allowed uninterrupted intercourse with the inhabitants; that the town guard should be at once disbanded; and the garrison of the new castle be permitted free access to all parts of the island. These proposals, however, she declared, must be subjected to the approval of the commandant of Elizabeth Castle, in regard to present arrangements, until his majesty's pleasure as to the future could be ascertained. She likewise required that the documents should be placed before the states with all convenient speed; and in accordance with her wishes a meeting was summoned for the Friday following, in order to consider and ratify her propositions, in the event of their meeting the views of the islanders.

The rumour relating to the dean's negotiation with the opposite party proved to be well founded; the wily ecclesiastic, calculating that the probable result of La Cloche's embassy would, sooner or later, be the advent of Captain Carteret, and the restoration of the royalists, requested advocate Le Hardy, who possessed some influence with Lady Carteret, to assist him in transmitting a letter to her. The advocate, after raising many objections, being at length prevailed upon to consent, the dean handed him a letter in which he asserted that, in spite of appearances, he had ever been a royalist; Sir Philip, whose persecution had been the sole cause of his temporary secession, being no more, he was anxious to return to his allegiance, and regain the favour of Lady Carteret, and

that of the legitimate governor of the island. Le Hardy very judiciously refused to be the bearer of an epistle which, containing reflections on the lady's late husband, was much more likely to irritate her temper than conciliate her favour; whereupon the dean revised his composition, making the most of his resuscitating loyalty, and soliciting forgiveness and oblivion for past transgressions. Thus modified, the advocate consented to take charge of the letter, with a promise that it should be duly delivered. But, instead of doing so in person, as the dean evidently expected, he sought out James Bandinel, at that time actually engaged, at the head of his parishioners, in advancing the siege of Mont Orgueil. Putting the letter into his hands, he stated that it was the dean's wish for him to take it to the castle. Although much astonished at the task his father had imposed upon him, James Bandinel selected one of the guard, who occasionally acted as a spy for both parties, and when night came, under his auspices, gained admission to the presence of Lady Carteret, by whom he was well received, and to whom he presented the letter. Not daring to remain long in the castle, for fear of being detected in his furtive visit by his own followers, he quitted it without awaiting a reply, and the next day hastened to apprise his father of the result of his undertaking. The dean, much surprised at finding in his son the messenger selected, remonstrated with Le Hardy, who coolly replying that he knew of no one so well fitted for the office as the dean's own son, declined all further interference in the matter.

After some days had elapsed, the dean, not receiving any message from Lady Carteret, began to entertain

serious apprehensions that she had betrayed him to the committee. He nevertheless sent his son again and again to the castle with letters and messages, but not being able to obtain replies in any shape, he finally proposed a plan for inviting Lydcott and the leaders of the faction to a feast at his residence, where, as he basely suggested, they might be surprised, and easily captured by a detachment of soldiers from the castle. This treacherous proposal remained, like the rest, unnoticed; but the committee having by this time ascertained that he was attempting to enter into a personal treaty with the royalists, determined, on the first favourable opportunity, to apprehend him. Informed of their intentions during one of his secret visits to the town, he absconded, and concealed himself so effectually that his retreat could not be discovered. But having rendered himself an object of distrust to both parties, and being denounced as well by the royalists as by the parliamentarians, his ruin was inevitable.

D'Assigny likewise had written to Lady Carteret, hoping to propitiate her by submission. But judging from her silence that his overtures were not approved of, he became more zealous than ever in support of the parliamentary cause; and contrived to convince Lydcott that the rumours as to his secession were spread abroad by his personal enemies, to ruin him in the governor's estimation.

The states assembled, according to summons, on Friday the 17th of November, to receive the report of the delegates; and having no alternative but the acceptance of Lady Carteret's conditions, they sent to request that a day might be named for the ratification of the treaty.

Lady Carteret, probably aware of what was likely to intervene, appointed the following Monday for the signature of the articles.

But, on Sunday, the 19th of November, the arrival of Captain Carteret at Mont Orgueil completely altered the aspect of affairs; the prospects of the royalists brightened, and the worst fears of the parliamentarians were confirmed.

The day after his arrival the greater part of the inhabitants of St. Martin's and Grouville declared in his favour, and took an oath of allegiance to the king; the few in these parishes who still continued contumacious, were speedily disarmed by a small party from the castle. The same day some of Captain Carteret's followers, who during their refuge at St. Maloes had vowed that they would make an attempt to capture the fort of St. Aubin the moment they set foot in Jersey, went by sea from Mont Orgueil to Elizabeth Castle, to apprise Hungerford of the proposed attack, and to concert signals with him in the event of their success. They landed during the night in the parish of St. Brelade, and seeking out their secret allies among the islanders, agreed with them on a plan of operation. The next day, when Lieutenant Brand, the captain of the tower, was on shore quietly enjoying his dinner in the neighbouring town, a few individuals, apparently unknown to each other, strolled severally into the tower, and casually, as it were, engaged the soldiers in light sportive gossip, while detached groups, with arms carefully concealed about their persons, gradually insinuated themselves into the fort. When a sufficient number were collected, they rushed simultaneously on the small garrison, and, seizing their arms, imprisoned

them in a cell, from which they released a few unfortunate royalists detained therein by Lydcott's orders; they then hoisted the signal previously agreed upon. Their confederates, watching anxiously in the town of St. Aubin's, no sooner saw the royal flag flying from the summit of the tower, and heard repeated volleys of musketry fired from the ramparts, indicative of the success of the enterprise, than they rushed suddenly upon Lieutenant Brand, and arrested him as he sat at table. The people from Elizabeth Castle, who had been also on the watch, on recognising the signals agreed upon, manned their boats, and despatched a party of soldiers to assist in taking possession of the fort. The boats afterwards returned laden with prisoners, including the captive commandant of the tower.

While this affair was in progress, D'Assigny, stripped to the doublet, with sword by his side and a pistol in his hand, was employed in superintending the erection of a new battery on the highest point of the Town Hill. The noise and smoke of the firing attracted his attention to what was going on at the opposite extremity of the bay; when seeing a flag unaccountably hoisted on the tower, and boats coming and going between the fort and the castle, he exclaimed, "There is some treachery on foot!" and rushing down the hill, he hastened to communicate the result of his observations to Lydcott, who soon ascertained the advantage gained by the enemy.

The manifest defection of the greater part of the islanders since the middle of October, which gradually prepared Lydcott for coming events, had induced him to keep a small armed vessel ready to start at a moment's

notice. Considering the fall of St. Aubin's tower as the signal for a general insurrection, and becoming apprehensive for his personal safety, he assembled his family, collected some necessary wearing apparel, and embarked at nine o'clock the same night, leaving his supper untasted, and some of his suite with most of his baggage behind. Michael Lemprière, D'Assigny, Le Boutillier, and a few more of the ringleaders, escaped in the same vessel; others hired boats wherever they could be obtained, and, the wind proving favourable, they all set sail in the course of the same night for Guernsey. Of the remainder of the parliamentary party, some concealed themselves; some escaped wherever they could procure the means of transport; others, less timid, including the dean and his son, remained in concealment, trusting that the political storm would soon blow over, and relying on the clemency of the newly arrived governor. As a proof of the small number of individuals deeply implicated in the disturbances, it will be found from Chevalier's list[1] that not more than fifty deemed it necessary to their safety to abscond.

Lydcott discovered when it was too late the value of Prynne's advice, the truth of whose predictions were fulfilled to the letter. The crest-fallen Independent, on his return to England, met the prophetic Presbyterian in Westminster Hall, and also in his own chamber, where he told him that, it had been happy for the parliament, and island too, had his advice, "against that most improbable design, been hearkened to; and that those who put the parliament on this expedition were most of them false dishonest men, biased with private

[1] *Vide* page 243.

interests, who deserted him for their own advantage." The latter part of this assertion is not entirely correct, for as the authors of the Pseudo-Mastix state, "many well affected gentlemen never deserted him, (Lydcott) but kept him company in a little frigatt with two pieces of ordance to Guernsey, and then to England—he was therefore not in such an extraordinary pinch as to make his pass through the enemy and escape in a small boat at the hazard of his life."

The report of the sudden departure of Lydcott and the Committee was quickly spread; the militia, under the impression that a large force accompanied Captain Carteret, and that a more numerous body was expected, laid down their arms that very night. "It is a miracle that no blood was shed on either side. Only a few days before the whole of Jersey was in arms; and there were some small districts so divided, that they were on the point of coming to a conflict; but, by divine interposition, the threatened strife was suddenly arrested, and from this time all hostility ceased."

Not less than three hundred and thirty-five shots were fired from Elizabeth Castle, during the progress of the siege, the greater part taking effect upon the town: and it is remarkable that one, and one only, proved fatal. The roofs of the houses were battered; their walls and gables perforated; but the balls fell harmlessly amidst groups of individuals, without inflicting the slightest personal injury;—an exemption evidently more attributable to accident and bad powder than to humane forbearance on the part of the assailants, whose guns were fully charged and effectually pointed for mischief. Numerous instances of miraculous escapes are recorded,

as we have seen, by Chevalier, whose own dwelling was repeatedly struck. Lydcott himself appears to have been also in a dangerous predicament, for a cannon bullet from the castle passing through one of the windows of the house in which he lodged, glanced across the bed he was about to occupy, and lodged in the wood-work at the head of the staircase just as he was on the point of ascending to his chamber.[1]

Two or three *pataches*—small, lugger-rigged vessels, somewhat similar to the French coasters now called *chasse marées*—sufficed to contain Captain Carteret and his followers, consisting chiefly of returned emigrants, and a few auxiliaries; magnified by the fears of the parliamentarians, and the reviving hopes of the royalists, into a formidable armament. This slender force was in reality too insignificant to have turned the scale had any resistance been offered; but, the tide of popular feeling having set in favour of the *ancien régime*, the islanders only awaited the arrival of an accredited leader, around whose standard they might rally.

The inhabitants of the districts in the vicinity of Mont Orgueil, as we have seen, immediately submitted to the authority of a legitimate governor bearing the king's commission. The very day after the expulsion

[1] We now lose sight of Lydcott for some years, and are left in the dark as to the continuance of his military career. But on looking over the Cromwelliana, we fancy we recognise him in the Colonel Lidcot, four troops of whose regiment were "drawn out of Leith, towards Queen's ferry, on the 16th of July, 1651." D'Assigny, or as Prynne writes, "Daristux," became "a chief incendiary in the French Church in Norwich, which he in a manner quite ruined and dissolved." Lemprière, Henry Dumaresq, and Herault went to London, where they wrote their Pseudo-Mastix.

of the parliamentary representative, Captain Carteret marched upon the capital of the island, at the head of his new allies and a company of regulars, English, Scotch, Irish and French, horse and foot, all well armed, "with drums beating and colours flying." Halting in the first place at St. Helier's hill, he ordered the fortifications erected by the rebels to be dismantled, and directed the cannon to be removed to the batteries in the town, whither he himself subsequently proceeded. He found the streets, contrary to expectation, comparatively deserted; the male portion of the population, not altogether assured as to his intentions, deeming it more prudent to keep out of sight, but not out of hearing. They soon ascertained that the warlike array, which had at first excited so much alarm, portended nothing hostile, and emerging from their lurking places, were well content to acquiesce in whatever promised to restore the tranquillity they were so anxious to obtain.

Captain Carteret, after remaining at St. Helier's for a couple of days, during which he visited Elizabeth Castle and held a conference with Mr. Hungerford, returned to Mont Orgueil, from whence he issued an order in his majesty's name to the *denonciateur*, for convoking the states in Trinity Church, the parish adjacent to Grouville, about four miles from the town. But, under the impression that the members, apprehensive of treachery, might be deterred from assembling, he added a personal pledge that they should not in any way be molested.

On the 24th of November a full meeting accordingly took place, when Captain Carteret laid before them his commission as lieutenant-governor, under Sir Thomas

Jĕrmyn, and his patent as bailiff of Jersey; both bearing the king's autograph, and countersigned George Digby. He was thereupon first sworn in as bailiff; after which, the oath was administered to him as lieutenant-governor, and he took his seat upon the bench. During these ceremonies a *feu de joie* was fired by the guard of honour that accompanied him to the church; and, according to a preconcerted signal, salutes of ordnance and volleys of musketry announced the happy event to the whole island.

CHAPTER IV.

CARTERET AND OSBORNE, CHAMPIONS OF THE ROYAL CAUSE IN THE CHANNEL ISLANDS—CARTERET RESTORES ORDER IN JERSEY—OATH OF ALLEGIANCE—MANY ISLANDERS STILL PARLIAMENTARIANS—CHARLES THE FIRST'S PROCLAMATION—PUNISHMENT OF DELINQUENTS—BODY GUARD—A LOAN RAISED—EARL OF MARLBOROUGH'S EXPEDITION—SEQUESTRATIONS—INVASION OF SERK—MALCONTENTS—CASTLE CORNET SUMMONED—OSBORNE'S REPLY—WANT OF PROVISIONS—SEA FIGHT—PRIVATEERING—CARTERET'S COMMISSION AS VICE-ADMIRAL.

CAPTAIN George Carteret and Sir Peter Osborne, the two champions of the royal cause in the Channel Islands, seem to have obtained a far more scanty share of notice than their public exertions and private sacrifices, during the civil war, deserve. The publication of the Osborne Letters has recently disclosed the privations and difficulties encountered by the stout old cavalier, in his defence of Castle Cornet against the Guernsey parliamentarians. But George Carteret is to this day better known as vice-chamberlain at the Restoration—the courtier and placeman after the coronation—the friend and patron of Samuel Pepys—than as the protector of his sovereign in exile.

This apparent pretermission is, doubtless, ascribable to the remoteness of the sphere of action from the centre of the great struggle; to the overwhelming importance of succeeding events; and to the difficulty,

at so great a distance of time, in connecting scattered details, so as to discern their close relation to the general history of the period. Lord Clarendon, it is true, in his History of the Rebellion, in his Life, and in his voluminous Correspondence, public and private, published as well as unpublished, alludes to his friend the governor of Jersey, in terms of high encomium, and expressions of warm esteem and gratitude. But it is not until we compare these notices with information derived from other sources, that we are enabled to appreciate the importance of Captain Carteret's achievements, or to obtain a clear conception of the influence they exerted in the development of subsequent national events.

"Sir George Carteret," says a local biographer, "was an extraordinary man, who rose in troublesome times to the highest eminence. Sprung from an ancient and honourable family, in a remote part of the empire, he had to begin the world without fortune or connexions. There seems to have been a great deal of energy in his character; and, to a mind capable of forming great designs, he united the courage to execute them, and the perseverance necessary to their success. There is something chivalrous—one might almost say romantic—to behold a loyal and gallant soldier, posted in this small insulated spot, boldly asserting the cause of his persecuted sovereigns, still faithful to them under every reverse of fortune, and inflicting incalculable mischief on their enemies. The astonishment will still further increase, that he should have been able, with his own slender resources, and without any assistance from the English royalists, to maintain himself there during eight years; and that it should ultimately have required the

exertions of Blake, the first naval commander of the age, with a large land army, to compel him to surrender. And when obliged at last to capitulate, he managed matters with so much address, and obtained such favourable terms, that one might almost suppose he had himself dictated the terms of capitulation to his conquerors."

This gallant and loyal officer, the son of a younger brother of Sir Philip, is said by some to have been born in the first year of the seventeenth century, by others, several years later. There is reason to believe that the latter statement is the more correct; for it is tolerably well ascertained that in 1638, as soon as he became of age, the office of bailiff was secured to him in reversion; and it is certain that he was only twenty-three years of age when he was appointed acting lieutenant-governor of Jersey, during the absence of his uncle, in 1640. These circumstances naturally lead to the conclusion, that the date of his birth is to be assigned to the year 1617. The question of age, in the absence of other information, becomes comparatively important, as it assists in elucidating the motives which regulated his actions at the period of our narration, and enables us to see him as he was. Seventeen years in a man's life exert no slight modifying influence on mind as well as body: the circumstance, therefore, of his being twenty-seven, instead of forty-four years of age, imparts a different shade of colouring to the opinion that may be formed in regard to his motives. There is little beyond this to give verisimilitude to a biographical sketch, there being no account extant of his personal appearance, no portrait even in the gallery of his friend Lord Clarendon, which can assist in forming an estimate of his character.

We learn, however, from Hyde's Correspondence in 1646,[1] that "he was truly a worthy and most excellent person, of extraordinary merit towards the crown and nation of England; the most generous man in kindness, and the most dexterous man in business ever known; and a most prudent and skilful lieutenant-governor, who reduced Jersey not with greater skill and discretion than he kept it. And, besides his other great parts of honesty and courage, undoubtedly as good, if not the best seaman of England; faithfully and worthily serving his Majesty, and deserving as much from his Majesty and the crown of England for his fidelity as an honest man can do."

Pepys, who also acknowledges his merits, speaks of him as "the most passionate man in the world," but proves that he could control his temper on occasion. It is evident that Carteret was perfectly conscious of the importance of the services he had rendered Charles the Second. "Among other things he told me," writes Pepys, "that he was not for the fanfaroone to make a shew with a great title, as he might have had long since, but the main thing, to get an estate; and another time, speaking of minding of business—'By G—d,' says he, 'I will, and have already almost brought it to that pass, that the king shall not be able to whip a cat, but I mean to be at the tayle of it!' meaning so necessary he is, and the king and my lord treasurer all do confess it."

That he was somewhat addicted to cupidity is not to be doubted: his altercation with Mr. Coventry, after the restoration, in reference to selling places, and his correspondence on money matters with Sir Peter Osborne,

[1] State Papers, vol. ii., and unpublished letters in the Bodleian Library.

afford corroborative evidence of the fact.[1] With regard to the charge of peculation, which was the order of the day, and although Carteret may not have formed the exception, he was not worse, even if so bad, as his neighbours. From the correspondence above alluded to, it is evident that he was somewhat harsh in demanding security for money borrowed from him by Osborne, but much allowance is to be made for a person who, with few other assets than the product of his privateering speculations, advanced enormous sums at the king's command, and was looked upon as a banker, on whom all might freely draw; from the exiled Prince of Wales to his meanest follower. "Truly," says Pepys, "the vice-chamberlain, whom I take for a most honest man, did assure me that he was not, all expenses and things paid, clear in estate £15,000 better than he was when the king come in; and that the King and Lord Chancellor did know that he was worth, with the debt the king owed him, £50,000, I think he said, when the king come into England."

Nothing for certain is known of the history of his early youth, except that he was "formerly bred a sea-boy," and served with distinction against the "Turk," a generic term applicable at that time to Algerines and other tributaries of the Grand Seignor. He early attained the rank of captain in the Royal Navy, and at the commencement of the civil war is mentioned by Clarendon as follows:—

"When the resolution of the House of Commons, and the concurrence of the Lords was peremptory, and the Earl of Northumberland had declared his compliance with them, for sending the Earl of Warwick admiral of

[1] *Vide* page 223.

that fleet, in the place of Sir John Pennington, upon whom the king depended; it was resolved likewise by them, that Captain Carteret, controller of his majesty's navy, a man of great eminency and reputation in naval command, should be vice-admiral; who, thinking it became his near relation to his majesty's service, to receive his royal pleasure before he engaged himself in an employment of that nature, addressed himself for his directions. But the king, looking upon the fleet in a manner taken from him, when another, whose disaffection to his service was very notorious, was, contrary to his express pleasure, presumptuously put into the command of it, and his own minister displaced for no other reason—his sufficiency, and ability for command being by all men confessed—but his zeal and integrity to him, would not countenance that fleet and that admiral, with suffering an officer of his own to command in it under the other; and therefore ordered Captain Carteret to decline the employment, which he, prudently and without noise, did; and thereupon another officer of the navy, the surveyor-general, Captain Batten, a man of very different inclinations to his master and his service, and furious in the new fancies of religion, was substituted in the place. Whereas, if Captain Carteret had been suffered to have taken that charge, his interest and reputation in the navy was so great, and his diligence and dexterity in command so eminent, that it was generally believed he would, against whatever the Earl of Warwick could have done, have preserved a major part of the fleet in their duty to the king."

He had previously married his cousin Elizabeth, daughter of Sir Philip, and thence became his son-in-law as well as nephew. This happy event most

probably took place during Prynne's incarceration at Mont Orgueil, for his poem of "The Christian Sea-Card," opens with a dedication after the fashion of a puritan epithalamium, to "The worshipfull his highly honoured friend, Mrs. Elizabeth Carteret," which runs as follows:—

"That neare relation wherein now you stand
By habitation, and a nuptiall band,
To seas and sea-men, did at first induce
Me to digest this SEA-CARD for your use,
And his you most esteeme; which in some sort
May helpe conduct you unto Heav'n's blest Port,
The onely *Haven* which you now must eye,
And strive for to arrive in when you dye.—
Accept it therefore (though scarce worthy view)
As a small pledge of his respects to you,
Who much adores your vertues, and must deeme
His muse too meane to adde to your esteeme."

Captain Carteret, after refusing the command offered him in the fleet, "withdrew himself with his family from England to Jersey, but being impatient of being quiet whilst his master was in the field, transported himself into Cornwall, with the purpose to raise a troop of horse, and engage in that service." The king's Cornish forces, in want of ammunition, and almost every other requisite to carry on the war, hailed his advent as an interposition of Providence "they had scarce courage to hope for." And, "when he came thither, he was unanimously importuned by the commanders, after they had acquainted him with their hopeless and desperate want of powder, to assist them in that manner, that the many good ports in their power might be made some use of in the supply of powder. Whereupon he shortly returned into France, and first upon his own credit, and then upon return of such commodities out of Cornwall

as they could well spare, he supplied them with such great proportions of all kinds of ammunition that they never found want after." [1]

That he did not receive prompt payment for his advances is evident from the rough draught of a certificate of his claims, discovered among the Clarendon Papers,[2] which he requested the Lords Capel, Hopton, and the Chancellor to sign, lest by any misfortune his accounts, which they had examined, should be lost:—

"The certificate wee signed when my Lord Capel left us on the 24th of October, 1646, concerninge the debt to the governour.

"Sir George Cartwright havinge desyred us, since, through these distractions he cannot passe his accounts in regular way, that we would examine and attest them, hopinge that if through any misfortunes those specialtyes which concerne them shall be lost, our certificate may hereafter be of some use to himselfe, his wife or children, for recovery of what is justly due to him. And, we havinge, besydes our owne observances upon the place, where his expenses and dayly disbursements were very evident to us, seene an attestation and certificate made by his Majesty's late Commissyoners for this islande for the 1945 pistoles, layd out by him for the victuallinge the two castles duringe the tyme of the rebellyon. And likewise another certificate made by them, upon examination, of the 349 pistoles at the tyme when he reduced the islande, and tooke the ennemyes ordinance to a very considerable valew,

[1] He made St. Maloes his head quarters until his return to Jersey in November, 1643.

[2] MSS. Bodleian Library.

which are ever in the castle and island for his Majestie's service, and likewise their certificate of the 195 pistoles disbursed by sayd Sir George Cartwright to Captain Deane, which is likewise acknowledged by the sayd Deane. And having likewise, besydes the certificate of the sayd commissyoners, ourselves examined the particulars upon which the costs are assigned of provisyons, and, findinge though the grosse amount be so much, yet in respecte of the great quantityes, that the demande is reasonable. And havinge viewed the receipt of Mr. Hungerford, clarke of the workes for 1100 pistoles, confessed by him to have been receaved from Sir George Cartwritt for the makinge the cisterne,[1] and other buildinges over above what was disbursed by the Prince at his beinge heare.—And Mr. Cooke the paymaster of the garrison, havinge acknowledged before us the receipt of 4100 pistoles, from the sayd Sir George, which he hath disbursed for the payment of the officers and souldyers. —And the Lord Hopton well remembringe the receipt of the powder in Cornewall, and that by the negligence of the commissioners the same was not payd for, which we have hearde the Commissioners and Mr. Biggs acknowledge at our beinge in Cornewall, upon an examination then made by derection from his Highnesse upon the desyre of Sir G. C. And the other particulars beinge answered to as by Sir George Cart-

[1] We find the following corroborative entry in Chevalier's Journal:—"In the month of February, 1645, the Lieutenant-governor caused two cisterns to be made underground in the upper ward of Elizabeth Castle. They were together calculated to hold eighty or ninety tons of water, and were to be arched over, cemented and paved with flat stones, called *ecquierres*, brought from Brittany at great cost. He also procured a couple of engineers from St. Maloes to superintend this work, as well as the sinking of a well in this part of the fortress, which was much wanted."

wright, upon his reputation.—And we havinge founde, by the accomptes of the payment, that all the summes of publique money, either raysed by delinquents or borrowed, have been receaved by him, and payd to the officers and souldyers since the tyme of reducinge the islande, and nothinge payd by him out of their moneyes to the sayd Sir George Cartwright upon any of these particulars:—Wee are of opinion, that these severall summes are justly dew to him, he beinge responsible and engaged for those particulars which are still owinge.—And we doubt not but as soon as God shall blesse his Majestie whereby he may be able to repaye his faythful servants, his Majestie and those Ministers who shall be trusted by him, will thinke themselves in honour and justice oblidged to justify Sir George Cartwright upon this accounte."

It is stated in a private genealogy in the possession of one of his collateral descendants, that Captain Carteret was knighted, in 1641, by Charles I., for his services against the Barbary pirates, and, according to Baker's Chronicle, he was created a Baronet on the 9th of May, 1645.[1] Both titles, however, must have been conferred by patent, and kept in abeyance till the arrival of the Prince of Wales in 1646; as we find from Chevalier's journal, in which, until the latter period, he is styled Captain Carteret or Colonel Carteret,[2] in virtue of his militia rank, Lieutenant-Governor and

[1] "Sir George Carteret most deservedly created Baronet, May 9, 1645. 21 Car. I."

[2] It will be more convenient to restrict the designation "Colonel" to young Philip Carteret, seigneur of St. Ouen, the Captain's brother-in-law and cousin.

Bailiff, which titles were all in a manner interchangeable.

A deed is still in existence, under the seal of the Admiralty, dated at Oxford, the 13th of December, 1644, by which Charles I., in the twentieth year of his reign, appoints "Colonel George Carteret, his Vice-Admiral, Commissary and deputy for the islands of Jersey, Guernsey, Serk, and Alderney, and the parts adjacent." On the arrival of the Prince of Wales he was appointed Vice-Chamberlain of the Household, and after the Restoration became one of the privy council, treasurer of the navy, and member of parliament for Portsmouth; and, finally, shared in the disgrace of his old ally the Lord Chancellor. But, as it is our intention to confine our account of him to the period when, under his decisive government, Jersey was rendered the most secure, and indeed the only available place of refuge for Charles the Second, we shall return to the details contained in our old manuscript.

Early in January 1644, Captain Carteret, installed both in his civil and military offices, proceeded to restore order in all departments of his Lilliputian state; and, as a preliminary, exacted an oath of allegiance from the soldiers of the castles and the militia of the island. For this purpose all male inhabitants, able to bear arms, were ordered to assemble in three districts, four parishes in each, and on the day appointed he repaired from one point of muster to another in succession, accompanied by his regular troops, French as well as English, and the militia of St. Brelades, who were formed into a body-guard as a reward and distinction for their services in recapturing St. Aubin's tower.

The ceremony was performed as follows, by Monsieur La Cloche in the Governor's presence. A Bible being laid open on a drum-head, ten men at a time placing their right hands upon it, while the chaplain read aloud the oath, pledged themselves on the faith and truth they owed to God, to continue loyal and faithful subjects to the king of England; to aid in putting down all rebellions and conspiracies; to defend the island against foreign or domestic foes; and to yield entire obedience to the commands of his Majesty's representative. The whole of the persons present on this occasion subscribed to this contract in succession and without hesitation.

The members of the States were subsequently assembled, and after expressing contrition at having supported the parliament, declared their loyalty to the king, whose authority they engaged to uphold henceforth, and to resist all encroachments on the part of his rebellious subjects. They unanimously agreed in asserting that they were ready and willing to lay down their lives and sacrifice their property in his Majesty's service; and, in short, made such protestations of loyalty and devotion that it was only wonderful they could ever have been otherwise than faithful and obedient to the King.

Many of the islanders having absented themselves under various pretexts from the previous administration of the oath, another day was appointed for its repetition: and, the authority of the lieutenant-governor being now fully established, few ventured to remain away without sufficient cause. All who came conformed, at least in outward semblance, but many still cherished in secret their attachment for the parliamentary cause, and whenever they had an

opportunity uttered seditious speeches, and spread reports of its being the intention of the king to abolish presbyterian worship and substitute episcopacy, if not popery.

These mutinous proceedings coming to the ears of the governor, he issued a manifesto, causing it to be read from the pulpit after divine service in each of the parish churches, and then published throughout the island. In this proclamation he lamented, that many well-affected persons were deterred from yielding obedience to their sovereign in temporal matters, owing to the circulation of false and disloyal rumours, attributing to the king the design of restoring the Roman-catholic religion. But he assured them that he had received his Majesty's commands to contradict such unfounded assertions, and to proclaim in the most solemn manner to the islanders, that far from entertaining any desire to re-establish a papacy, or even prelacy, it was his Majesty's fixed determination to maintain the exercise of the reformed protestant worship inviolate, as it had existed under his predecessors, Queen Elizabeth and King James the First.

The tone of this manifesto, although in strict accordance with the king's former proclamation to the Jersey people, being much at variance with the line of conduct he was at that very time pursuing elsewhere, it may be doubted whether Carteret had any express command to repeat the proclamation: it was, nevertheless, a shrewd stroke of policy on his part. He thoroughly understood the temper of the people he had to deal with; he knew that their religious sentiments assimilated closely with those of the Scotch presbyterians; and was well aware that they were more

likely to be driven to fresh rebellion by religious than by political interference.

The sagacious governor, foreseeing that the exercise of his military functions would be considered incompatible with his duties as a civil magistrate, appointed as lieutenant bailiff, his uncle's faithful and persecuted ally, John Dumaresq, to whom he thenceforth entrusted all legislative and judicial authority as president of the states and of the royal court, well assured of his co-operation and support on all occasions. This step was essential to the course of policy he had resolved to adopt —that of appearing to govern according to strict constitutional principles. Whenever, therefore, he had any favourite measure to carry out, he scrupulously and ostentatiously called the three estates together; laid his *projets de loi* before them; and, having received their sanction, of which he was assured beforehand, he had little opposition to dread from a people who were perfectly satisfied so long as prescribed forms were duly observed.

The first enactments proposed by him tended to the suppression of seditious meetings, the utterance of inflammatory discourses, the perpetration of larcenies, acts of violence, and other offences against the public peace. These and similar infractions of the law had not only gone unpunished, but, to a certain extent, had been encouraged under the misrule of the faction, for the purpose of molesting and intimidating the opposite party. He promulgated ordinances for the suppression of drunkenness, debauchery, profane swearing, and Sabbath breaking; and regulated the price and weight of bread and other articles of daily consumption. These propositions, readily acceded to by the states, and all

excellent in themselves, were, nevertheless, mere experiments to test the docility of the assembly. "But the most passionate man in the world" was, as we shall find, not a little vindictive; he had neither forgotten nor forgiven the persecutions and indignities his uncle had been subjected to by his political adversaries; and had taken care to provide himself, even before his arrival in Jersey, with instruments of legal torture, which, to the discredit of his memory, were put into operation on the earliest opportunity.

Finding, from the readiness with which his preliminary projects had been adopted, that he might venture to proceed with measures of a more arbitrary nature, he exhibited to the legislative assembly the following decree:—

"Charles Rex,

"Our will and pleasure is, and wee do hereby require you to apprehend and keepe in safe custodie, untill you shall receive our further pleasure, the persons of Michael Lemprière, Henry Dumaresq, Abraham Herault, Philip Boutillier, Denis Guerdain, John Ricards, Phillip Messervy, Phillip Le Febre, John Maistre, Thomas Denell, Charles Maret, and Zachary du Hamel, of our Isle of Jersey, and David Bandinel, James Bandinel, and Peter D'Assigny, clerks of our said isle, who have raised and fomented an odious rebellion against us there. And wee doe hereby require our sheriffe, and all other officers and subjects of our said isle to be ayding and assisting unto you in the execution of this our command, as they tender our service, and will answer the contrary at their utmost perils. And for so doing this shall be to you and every one of them

a sufficient warrant. Given (under?) our signett att our court att Oxford the third day of October in the nineteenth yeare of our Reigne.

" By His Majesty's command,
" GEORGE DIGBYE."

" To our trusty and well beloved
Captain George Carteret, our
Bayliff of our Isle of Jersey."

The date of this document, which contains the names of the offending parties, whose escape could not have been contemplated when it was obtained, goes to prove that Captain Carteret had for some time meditated the severe measures of retribution he was now about to put in practice. The members of the states, however, did not seek to examine into his motives any more than did those who composed the court of judicature, who without hesitation, passed an act, still extant, authorising the sheriff to arrest the delinquents.

All but Lemprière, Dumaresq, Herault, D'Assigny, and some few others, remained in the island, forgetful of the gravity of their offences,—trusting perhaps that Carteret would be more merciful to them, than they had been indulgent to his relative and predecessor. But they appear to have lost sight of the fact that he had private as well as public wrongs to avenge,—those of the kinsman added to those of the governor. Whether the former or the latter predominated, or whether both operated simultaneously on his temper, signify but little at the present time.

The confiding offenders, including the now unfortunate and misguided Bandinel and his son, were arrested and confined within the precincts of Eliza-

beth Castle, where they were allowed free intercourse with their friends, but forced to maintain themselves at their own cost. After a time this self-supporting system became a matter of difficulty; for, the same act which sanctioned their incarceration, was provided with a clause directing the king's law officers to make strict investigations, and give in detailed returns of all the property real and personal belonging to them, including the annual revenues of their estates, the value of their goods and chattels, together with the rents, arrears of rents, and other debts owing to them, in order that all such property should be registered at the *greffe*, and sequestered in the hands of officials appointed for the purpose, until the good pleasure of his majesty should be ascertained. In the meantime the produce of their estates, such as corn, hay and other crops, even to the fire-wood, were draughted to the castles for the use of the state, so that the unfortunate prisoners were, ultimately, dependent upon the humanity of their friends for the necessaries of life.

D'Assigny, who in consequence of his hasty flight had not been able to dispose of his property, left his wife behind to take charge of the presbytery, and convert the corn in his barn-yard, and the cider in his cellar, of which there was good store, into money for his future wants. A company of soldiers, however, billeted in the house to prevent the sale of the corn, made free with the cider, and appreciating it as much as the parliamentarians had done, drank up a whole puncheon in less than an hour. And so D'Assigny, who in spite of his sacred calling had meddled with warlike matters, and led the way in pillage, was now in turn robbed of his substance;—il pouvoit bien

dire comme Adonibizec, "comme j'ai fait, Dieu m'a rendu."

The governor, after a temporary residence at Mont Orgueil, established his head-quarters at Elizabeth Castle, thenceforth the seat of government, and proceeded to complete his arrangements for placing the island in a state of defence against any sudden external attack. The regular soldiers, forming the garrisons of the castles, not being available for insular duty, he appointed detachments of the militia to guard the outposts on all assailable points along the coast. These train-bands, however, being scattered throughout the country, and therefore not capable of speedy concentration, he organized a small corps of light infantry, composed of twenty-six of the smartest young men from each of the parishes, to whom he allowed pay, when on duty, at the rate of ten *sous* a day. This troop, which altogether mustered about three hundred strong, were fully armed, accoutred, and drilled by the regulars, and in a short time constituted a well-disciplined and effective force disposable at any time, and ready to march on any given point in case of emergency.

But a state, however circumscribed—a standing army, however small—required funds adequate to their maintenance two centuries ago, as well as now. The royal revenue of Jersey for the current year had been absorbed, and indeed that for the following anticipated, by the parliamentary governor. Captain Carteret, on the other hand, had so exhausted his personal resources, and so staked his credit in supplying Lord Hopton with ammunition, and in providing for the castles in the two islands, that it became necessary,

therefore, for him to have recourse to the states, who immediately proposed levying a tax upon the inhabitants for the purpose of victualling the castles. But this plan did not accord with the views of the governor, who objected to it on the plea that it would press too heavily on the lower orders. He therefore proposed, in the king's name, to raise a forced loan, payable after a limited period, to defray the expenses of a war in which it was now considered that the islanders were engaged against the parliament. The states, agreeing to his proposition, directed the constables of the different parishes to furnish lists of those individuals who were able and willing to advance money on specified conditions. Sums varying from two thousand *livres tournois*[1] to forty *livres* were in time subscribed by various capitalists, and an engagement was entered into on the part of the states to repay the advances out of the royal revenues when at the end of the twelvemonth they became due. A rate of one *ecu*[2] and a half was also exacted weekly from each parish for the new levies, leaving the regular troops in garrison to receive their pay as usual out of the proceeds of the king's insular exchequer.

On the 7th of February, 1643-4, the governor was interrupted in his financial arrangements, by the arrival

[1] The *livre tournois*, the ancient currency of Tours, is still retained in the monetary transactions of the Royal Courts of the Channel Islands, as the representative of a legal tender; its present value is fifteen-pence, or in round numbers, fourteen *livres tournois*, equivalent to a pound sterling.

[2] Supposing this to be the *ecu* or *escu de France*, it was in 1581 worth twenty *gros d'argent*, the *gros* being equal to the silver groat. The *ecu* therefore was worth an attorney's fee, and the *ecu* and a half equal to ten shillings, which on a rough calculation, would have afforded pay at five-pence *per diem* to about two hundred and fifty men.

of the Earl of Marlborough,[1] in St. Catherine's Bay, in command of a royal squadron, consisting of one ship of four hundred tons, and thirty-three guns; of another mounting twenty-four; and two frigates of eighteen and sixteen guns respectively. Lord Marlborough, on his way to Jersey, had touched at Guernsey, and fancying that the squadron by its imposing presence would awe the inhabitants into submission, despatched the following letter:

"The Earl of Marleborough to Sir Peter Osborne.

"SIR,

"I am sorry to heare of your distress by Captain Androwes (Amias Andros), and wish it were as much in my power as my will to relcive you.—I am come out with much adoe, and with ordinary preparation, and was faine to give extraordinary promises to my men to come hether, otherway had I none; they going out upon shares without any wages, and therefore grumbling att every minute's stay.—I promised them some supply from you of such things as I wanted, namely, powder and sourds.—The trueth is, I extremely want both, having but twenty-four barrells for thirty guns.—If your store be reasonable of both, I hope you will spare me some of either; if you can, it will encourage my men to stay somewhat the longer, and secure my riding here the better from the Parliament ships, which with the first wind I beleive will seeke me out.

"I have sent this afternoon to Colonel Carterett att Jersey to see what he can doe towards the getting of men, and

[1] The Earl of Marlborough, at the battle of Lansdown, the preceding year, acted with Hopton's army as General of the Artillery.

expect an answer to-morrow.—I have sent you as much as my boates can well stow, and meane to-morrow to send you what else I can spare without the overthrough of my voiage, but I hope it may prove enough till more come.—If Colonel Carterett can doe nothing, I could wish that Captain Androwes might be dispeeded for the court, for the gaining of a peremptory order for the sending over some men.

"Sir, I beseech you to believe me one that will be readdy to serve you to my uttermost, and, if I shall not answere your long expectation of mine arrivall, impute it not to any unwillingnes in me, but to the necessity w^ch^ does enforce me to comply with those men that, as long as I have occasion to use them, must be humoured beyond reason in many things.

"We had a dispute to-day about summoning the Iland; the difference was that Capt. Androwes propounded the exemption of some particulars out of the pardon; my commission goes for all.—But I beseeche your minde in writing by this bearer, and lett me know in what farther service you will please to command

"Your humble servant,

"MARLEBURGH."[1]

"The road (Guernsey) this Munday night."

His Lordship landed the same night at Castle Cornet, and held a conference with Sir Peter as to the expediency of summoning the island; and the measure being decided on, his lordship returned on board his vessel, and soon after despatched his barge to the shore with an officer bearing the summons. The Guernseymen,

[1] Tupper 115, from Osborne Papers.

however, would neither allow the barge to approach, nor permit the officer to land; but repulsed him roughly, and threatened to fire upon his crew if he did not instantly sheer off. Seeing that any attempt at remonstrance would be useless, he returned on board his ship, and Lord Marlborough, on being informed of the obduracy of the rebels, fired a broadside of defiance, and set sail with his squadron to the sister island.

Leaving his ships at anchor in the bay of St. Catherine, he landed, and proceeding to Elizabeth Castle, he concerted measures with Captain Carteret, to whom he proposed a plan of co-operation for the invasion of Guernsey. The latter, entering with alacrity into his lordship's views, convened the states that very day, more as a matter of form than from any idea of profiting by their collective wisdom, or from any fear of their opposing whatever he might submit to their consideration. He also despatched a small frigate of six guns, which happened to be stationed at St. Aubin's, to obtain provisions from St. Maloes, for victualling the newly-arrived squadron, and furnishing it with supplies to be transmitted to England, for the use of the royal army in the west.

The states being assembled, the governor announced to them that he had received a communication from the Earl of Marlborough, who was commissioned by the king to attempt the recovery of the revolted island of Guernsey; and for that purpose required a reinforcement of Jerseymen. The obedient states immediately issued an order for mustering a sufficient force. Carteret recommending all gentlemen and men of substance to volunteer their services, suggested the propriety of

engaging, or impressing, between thirty and forty fishing-smacks, each large enough to contain five or six soldiers, and to land these on the enemies' shore. He calculated that, in addition to the sailors and soldiers on board the squadron, supported by the fire of the ships' guns, and that of Castle Cornet, this would ensure the speedy reduction of the rebel island. In the name of Lord Marlborough he offered a bounty of thirty *sous* per diem to the proprietor of every shallop; the like sum to each master; and promised twenty *sous* a-day to all soldiers and militiamen who chose to volunteer. He offered those who had lately sided with the parliament, the same rate of pay they had received under Lydcott, and engaged furthermore to intercede with the king for the free pardon of those who were under interdict. But he declared that if they declined his proposals he would have them arrested and confined in the castle, until an opportunity offered for sending them as prisoners out of the island, to answer for their misdemeanours in England.

The whole of these proposals were received with unqualified approbation by the states, as being "for the advantage of his Majesty's service as well as for the honour and interests of the inhabitants of Jersey." They forthwith proceeded to issue commissions of array to the proper functionaries in each parish, including the several pastors, empowering them to raise both soldiers and sailors, and to impress thirty-five shallops as transports. The *vraicking* season being about to commence, that is, the gathering of sea-weed (*vraic*) for fuel and manure, it was easy enough to collect the requisite number of boats, but not by any means so easy to man them; for in the eyes of the peasantry, most of them

farmers as well as fishermen, this marine harvest was too valuable to be abandoned even for so glorious an exploit as the conquest of the sister island. The states, imagining that their unwillingness to embark in the expedition might arise from the fear they entertained of being forestalled by those who remained behind, ordered that the cutting of *vraic* should be postponed until their return, and that in the meantime any person who infringed the order should be liable to the seizure and confiscation of both boat and cargo: but neither bribes, flattery, nor legal restrictions could tempt them to take service. Lord Marlborough, therefore, disgusted at their indifference, and alarmed for the safety of his ships, exposed without shelter to a constant succession of storms, after waiting some time longer in Jersey, reluctantly abandoned the enterprise.

Accompanied by Captain Carteret, he set sail for St. Maloes in order to take in stores for the king's army. In this port he fell in with a parliament vessel of three hundred tons, carrying twenty-eight guns, which, by some means or other, he contrived to hire; and despatched her, laden with provisions, to the west of England, under convoy of his smallest frigate similarly laden.

The authorities of Guernsey, in the meantime, having ascertained that Lord Marlborough was storing his vessels with victuals and ammunition for the use of the English royalists, sent information thereof to the parliament, who immediately ordered out some ships to intercept the squadron on its homeward voyage. Having completed his arrangements, his Lordship quitted St. Maloes with his three remaining ships on the 10th of

March, intending to steer his course direct for England; but the wind proving contrary, he was forced to return to Jersey, and on the 11th cast anchor in St. Aubin's Bay.

He had barely furled his sails when half-a-dozen parliament ships, which had been cruising off Guernsey, under the expectation that he would retouch at Castle Cornet, hove in sight; and, as they neared the shore, lay to, and opened a cannonade, but at so long a range that the shot fell short, and did no damage. Lord Marlborough endeavoured to provoke them to come to close quarters, by firing volleys, and discharging cannon by way of defiance; but they continued to remain in the offing, evidently fearful of engaging. Deeming his position unsafe, the night coming on with an ebb tide, he stood further in shore, and finally moored under Elizabeth Castle. The enemy's ships, not daring to attack him under the guns of the fortress, after some time passed in reconnoitring, returned to Guernsey for the purpose of obtaining a reinforcement.

His Lordship, although he did not go on shore himself, allowed several of his officers and sailors to visit the castle and the town. Towards evening, however, he recalled them, with the intention of setting sail during the night; but, as his people could not be got on board until a late hour, he deferred his departure, and the next morning at day-break set sail under the full expectation of an encounter, which he neither feared nor avoided. The enemy's fleet, although on the watch, suffered him to continue his voyage unmolested, probably not able to cope with ships so powerful as those which composed his squadron; so that he reached England without

further interruption, much to the satisfaction, no doubt, of those for whom his supplies were destined.[1]

Captain Carteret, who had been detained at St. Maloes on public business, reached Jersey in the small king's frigate a day after the departure of Lord Marlborough, and resumed the administration of insular affairs. Although he took every means to render himself despotic, and acted towards the fallen rebels with much harshness, he seldom departed from the strict letter of constitutional statutes,—referring, in the first instance, as had been the custom from time immemorial, to the king and privy council, who confirmed his propositions on all occasions: thus armed, he then applied to the local authorities for a sanction they durst not refuse.

On the 21st of March, he submitted to the house of assembly certain orders bearing the royal seal and sign manual, but containing internal evidence of being founded on previous representations, and granted at his own solicitation. The subservient states, after going through the usual deliberations and formalities, directed the royal orders to be registered, so as to give them locally the force of laws. In conformity to these orders, they proclaimed the dismissal of four of the parliamentary committee from the bench, three of whom were refugees, and the fourth a prisoner in the castle. They then issued a notification for the election of a like number of "men of substance, capacity, and integrity, and well affected towards his Majesty," to replace the discarded jurats.

By the king's authority, Michael Lempfière was

[1] Whitelocke's account is different. "March 15th. The Parliament Ships chased the Earl of Marlborough; but he (though two to one) did not think fit to fight with them." Memorials, p. 79.

declared to be a traitor and a rebel, for having filled the office of bailiff under the parliament without his Majesty's knowledge or consent; all deeds for the sale and transfer of real property, passed before him at this period, as well as all other documents, to which his official signature was affixed, were declared invalid; and it was furthermore ordered that they should be surrendered into the governor's hands, in order to their being burnt in the public market-place by the common hangman.[1]

In addition to the public documents before mentioned, Captain Carteret received a private letter from Charles I. granting him full power—evidently at his own request—to seize upon, and keep in safe custody, all disaffected persons. This instrument, which rendered him more arbitrary than ever, was not long allowed to remain inoperative. He arrested many who had hitherto kept within what they considered the pale of the law, including those who indulged in too great liberty of speech. Some were confined within the precincts of the castles—others consigned to strict surveillance in their own dwellings—the vicomte being instructed to undertake the management of their pecuniary affairs.

The system of sequestration, the unequivocal forerunner of confiscation, so profitably and successfully pursued by the English roundheads for despoiling unfortunate cavaliers, was not considered a bad precedent

[1] These deeds, fortunately for the parties concerned, were not destroyed; they were of no value, it is true, for seven or eight years, as Captain Carteret did not allow their legality; but their validity was fully admitted when, under the Commonwealth, the island was conquered by the Parliamentarians, who restored Lemprière to his presidential chair. He appears to have exercised his functions as bailiff, at this time, with much moderation and discretion.

for recruiting the empty exchequer of Jersey. The possessions of those who had been committed to prison being already sequestered, as we have seen, the same course now was pursued with regard to the property of the fugitives, which was placed in the hands of the vicomte, "awaiting his Majesty's decision;" or, in other words, in anticipation of its being doomed sooner or later to confiscation. During the interval, the rents as they fell due, and the crops as they came to maturity, were appropriated to the uses of the state.

In order further to embarrass the parliamentary adherents, an ordinance was published on three consecutive Saturdays at the market cross,[1] by the advice of the states, as it was artfully alleged, requiring every debtor to declare, under a heavy penalty, the amount and nature of his assets and liabilities, within a specified time. By this means, considerable sums of money and arrears of rent were discovered and arrested; which gave rise to a suspicion that at various periods many of the personal effects of the delinquents had been privately conveyed out of the town, and lay hidden in the country among their friends. A rigorous investigation was in consequence instituted, much property was discovered, and the people who had concealed it were, according to the phraseology of the day, "clapped up," for attempting to evade the ordinance. They were afterwards released on payment of a fine, but obliged to give security that they would in future preserve the property until called upon to surrender it into the hands of "justice."

[1] On the site now occupied by the statue in the public square, formerly stood a stone cross, at which ordinances of all kinds were published, and where malefactors were exposed to public gaze in the cage and in the stocks.

About this time a great scarcity of corn prevailed in France, so that none was allowed to be exported; wheat accordingly reached the enormous price of between forty and fifty *sous* per *cabot*[1] in Jersey, which rendered it unattainable by the poor. And, moreover, none was exposed for sale in the market, for the farmers and millers (a natural combination for monopoly) withheld it in order to enhance its value. In this emergency, the governor adroitly managed to entice, or to induce the master of a Flemish vessel, bound from Holland to St. Maloes, to eschew the latter port, and land his cargo in Jersey. The importation of one hundred and eighty tons of corn, the greater part rye, the rest wheat, proved a most seasonable relief to the poor Jersey people; not only supplying their immediate necessities, but forcing the monopolists to bring their corn into the market, so that a sufficient quantity of the staff of life was obtained to last until the ensuing harvest; the prices in the meantime found their proper level.

Although Captain Carteret had fortunately succeeded in averting so dire a calamity as that of famine, his financial difficulties were by no means at an end. Determined to leave no stone unturned for raising money, to meet the daily increasing expenditure of his government, he turned his attention to the neighbouring islet of Serk, with the view of endeavouring to take it from the Guernsey parliamentarians, who enjoyed the revenues due to its seigneur, Colonel Carteret. This little isle, remarkable for its bold basaltiform cliffs, and picturesque rocky scenery; and interesting from the existence of primitive feudal institutions, on the most perfect but smallest

[1] The *cabot* is equal to one-eighth of a Jersey quarter, and somewhat more than fourteen *cabots* constitute an imperial quarter.

of all possible scales, is so strongly defended by precipitous natural walls as to be impregnable, except by disproportionate force of assailants, or some cunningly devised stratagem.

The following is a description of this romantic island, and its defensive capabilities, in 1673;[1] a description as correct and almost as applicable as if it had been written in 1853:—

"Serke, the place whence this letter comes to kiss your hands, is an island situate in the channel betwixt England and France; lying at once in view of the banks of Normandy, and of our two other more eminent islands of Jersey and Guernsey, and about four leagues to the south-east of the latter. Though its circuit or extent can yield no great temptation to any prince's ambition to make himself master of it, its dimensions being not above five miles in length, and about two miles in breadth, yet nature, as if she had stored up some extraordinary treasure, seems to have been very solicitous to render it impregnable. On every side it is surrounded with vast rocks, and mighty cliffs, whose craggy tops, braving the clouds with their stupendous height, bid defiance to all that shall dream of forcing an entrance. Two only ascents or passages there are into it;—the first where all goods and commodities are received, called *la Soguien*, where for a large space through a solid rock, there is a cart-way cut by art down to the sea, with two strong gates for its defence, and two pieces of ordnance above, always ready to prevent any surprise;—the other is *la Frikerée*,[2] where only passengers can land, climbing up a rock by certain

[1] Harleian Miscellany, vol. iii.

[2] *L'Epeſquerie.*

steps or stairs cut therein to a vast height, and somewhat dangerously; nor is it possible there for above one person to come up at once.

"In the reign of our matchless maiden Queen, this island being wholly possessed by the French, (as most of the inhabitants, not only thereof, but of Jersey and Guernsey too, are to this day of that nation), a sea-captain (whose name I at present remember not, though it is a pity it ever should be swallowed by oblivion) apprehending its neighbourhood, if it continued in the French hands, might, one time or other, portend no good to the isles of Jersey and Guernsey, solicited the Queen to commission him to reduce it to her obedience.—Who having received former information of it, told him the place was so small, and the attempt so hazardous, it would be scarce worth while; and that she feared the loss of men about it would be more damage than its taking of importance or advantage.—For you must note at that time the passage down at *la Soguien* was not made, nor did it appear half so accessible as it now appears.—But our subtle captain replied, 'If her Majesty would but give him command and necessaries, he durst assure her to settle the English colours there without the loss of a man.'—The Queen, seeing his confidence, yields to his importunity, who, accompanied with about one hundred resolved men, put to sea, and, after some time cruising up and down, comes and lies before this island of Serke, in quality of a merchantman homeward bound; and making out his boat with several taking commodities, the people suffered three or four of their crew to land, and traded with them, with much amity, for a day or two.—At last, having insinuated into the good opinion of the credulous islanders, they told them,

having been on a trading-voyage to the streights, their master was some time since dead, but had engaged them not to expose his corpse into the ocean to be devoured of the fish, but to inter it with Christian burial, in the next place where they should touch ground.—And therefore they desired that Christian favour of them, that they might lay him in their church-yard, coming only some few of them ashore, without arms to perform the ceremony.—

"The unwary people consent, and our Captain, with about twenty of his stoutest men, with a coffin, and much seeming solemnity, got ashore, the natives assisting them to get their Trojan horse up the precipice.—But no sooner were they arrived at the church, but clapping to the door, as if they had some private devotions to celebrate at which the inhabitants might not be present, they break open their coffin, filled, instead of a dead body, with instruments of death; and, instantly arming themselves, slay that small French guard that there offered resistance, and retiring to the landing-place, secure that, get in more of their company, and, in five hours' time, without the loss of one man, made themselves masters of the whole island; which, ever since that time, has had the honour to boast itself part of the dominions of the English crown."

Sir Walter Raleigh, who was governor of Jersey for a short time, assigns a different date to this legend, in his "History of the World," but gives essentially the same version. It is not improbable that Captain Carteret had the story before him when he projected the recovery of the island by surprisal.

Having associated Colonel Carteret, and some others in the enterprise, four shallops were equipped, one of

twelve oars, (a new pinnace belonging to Monsieur de la Trinité,) and a smaller vessel. The crew of the former consisted of forty picked men, under the immediate direction of Captain Lane, who was commander-in-chief of the expedition, having Captain Chamberlain as second in command in the other pinnace, with an indifferent crew of thirty-two men. Two smaller craft accompanied the expedition.

This little squadron, the men all well armed, left Jersey on the evening of the 25th of May, intending when they reached Serk to hold council, and make final arrangements for landing. The night, however, being cloudy, and the weather boisterous, the boats lost sight of each other, and the two divisions parted company; Chamberlain was driven to a different quarter from that previously agreed upon, so that Lane's boats alone arrived at the place of rendezvous. Whilst lying on their oars, anxiously expecting their comrades, they were descried, and challenged by a look-out on the shore, "*Qui va là?*" shouted one sentry; "*d'où vient le bat?*" vociferated another; "*de Guernsey,*" replied the crafty Captain Lane; this assertion appearing doubtful, the third sentinel discharged his arquebus in the direction of the voices, and the brave army took to their heels.

Lane, apprehensive that the islanders would take alarm, and assemble to oppose his landing; deeming it probable likewise that Chamberlain had either perished, or lost courage, and so put back, yielded to the solicitations of some of his crew, who not being mariners were disheartened, perhaps sea-sick, and ordered his rowers to betake themselves to their oars. There were others, however, more daring who still urged him to

land, but he would not listen to them, and so pulled back to Jersey, where not finding Captain Chamberlain he gave out that the other boats were wrecked.

Chamberlain, however, had not perished, and although unable to reach the rendezvous, he had managed to attain another part of the coast. Being a man of courage and resolution, and giving his commander credit for possessing similar qualities, he imagined him to have already landed, and hastened to support him. With a force much inferior in point of number to Lane's, he disembarked without hesitation; surprised and overpowered the first guard he came to; then, advancing into the interior, his men surrounded the residence of the island commandant, disturbed the slumbering functionary, and made him prisoner without resistance. After this exploit, they proceeded from house to house disarming the inhabitants, and before morning succeeded in rendering themselves masters of the greater part of the island. Having captured some few pieces of ordnance, and a quantity of ammunition, they suspended operations, under the full expectation that Lane's party had been equally diligent, that he would speedily join them, and so render their victory as complete as it was bloodless.

Daylight came, but, no auxiliaries appearing, Chamberlain and his thirty-two followers began to entertain less sanguine hopes of ultimate success. As their courage diminished, that of the Serk men increased, especially when they beheld the handful of men who, favoured by darkness, had alarmed and overpowered them; and when they discovered that there were no vessels in the offing ready to pour in reinforcements. Nevertheless, Chamberlain's small band kept them for

some hours still in check; not so, however, the women,[1] who, being at large, and making the best use of their liberty, fired the beacon as a signal to the Guernsey people of their being in distress. The signal remained unnoticed, and they waited in vain the arrival of succour until two o'clock in the afternoon, when some of the Serkese, contriving to elude their captors, loaded the cannon, which had not been captured by Chamberlain, and fired three rounds. The report of the guns attracting the attention of those on the opposite island, they promptly despatched some boats filled with armed men, who on landing surrounded and overpowered the small party of invaders. Chamberlain finding himself beset by superior forces, both by sea and land, and unable to effect a retreat on board his *pataches*, surrendered in his turn without resistance.

His boats were taken, he was put in irons, and removed with his companions in arms, to Guernsey,

[1] The letter of 1673, previously quoted, thus describes the costume of the islanders:—"That a fresh variety of fantastic fashions, wherein Paris is justly accused to affect all Europe, has here no footing, where every one retains the same garb their ancestors wore in the days of Hugh Capet and King Pippin; so that I can give small encouragement to the knights of the thimble to transport themselves hither, where cucumbers are like to be more plenty than in the back side of St. Clement's. Each man religiously preserving his vast blue trunk-breeches, and a coat almost like a Dutch fro's vest, or one of your waterman's liveries. Nor are the women behindhand with them in their hospital-gowns of the same colour, wooden sandals, white stockings, and red petticoats, so mean they are scarce worth taking up. Both sexes, on festivals, wear large ruffs; and the women instead of hats or hoods, turn up their hair; the more genteel sort in a kind of cabbage net; those of meaner fortunes in a piece of linen, perhaps an old dishclout turned out of service, or the fag-end of a table-cloth, that has escaped the persecution of washing ever since the Reformation; this, they tying on the top, make it a shew like a Turkish turban, but that part of it hangs down their backs like a veil * * *."—*Harl. Misc.*

where great rejoicings were indulged in; the bells of the churches rung, and cannon roared throughout the live-long night;—a mighty demonstration, truly, for a victory over an army of two and thirty men, and a fleet consisting of a couple of fishing smacks.

Chamberlain, after some months' detention, contrived to break prison, and attempted to reach Castle Cornet, where he would have been sure of a kind reception. But his legs being encumbered with irons, and other impediments occurring, he was retaken, and more closely confined than ever in a cell in St. Peter Port. Here he was chained to the wall, and endured great hardships and privations, although Captain Carteret took care to provide him with money as often as he could, by means of the masters of Norman provision boats. He remained a close prisoner for upwards of two years, notwithstanding the governor of Jersey's frequent proposals for his ransom, or his exchange against an English parliamentary Captain detained by Sir Peter Osborne.

At length the crew of a Cherbourg vessel, hired expressly for the purpose by Captain Carteret, assisted him in effecting his escape from a noisome prison. They supplied him with files, to cut his fetters; and with bars of iron, to break a passage through the walls of his cell; and then concealed him effectually on board until a favourable opportunity occurred for conveying him to Jersey, where he arrived in safety on the 18th of August, 1646: the inhabitants in general greeting him with every consideration due to his bravery and long suffering. He was received with open arms at Elizabeth Castle, and there lodged and entertained with great honour. His men, being expensive to

keep, were released, and sent back to their respective countries.

To return to Lane, the same who fled from the market-place in Sir Philip's time. The utmost indignation was manifested throughout Jersey, from the governor to the meanest inhabitant, at his base and cowardly desertion of his colleague. The exercise of a little courage, it was felt, would not only have prevented the catastrophe, but have rendered the object of the expedition against Serk certain, for had he landed and pushed forward in a spirited manner, the opposition of three sentries would have been of little avail against a party, well trained to the use of arms, and experienced in military affairs. Stigmatized as a poltroon, he was soon driven from Jersey to England, where, on landing, he was apprehended as a malignant, but released on taking service with the rebels.

Captain Carteret, having reason to suspect that the state prisoners in the castles, through their relatives and friends who had hitherto been allowed free access to them, kept up a correspondence with the parliamentary party in Guernsey, and conveyed intelligence of whatever was passing in Jersey, caused it to be proclaimed at the market cross, and throughout the country parishes, that none henceforth should be permitted to visit the prisoners, or hold communication with them, without his special permission, or that of the seneschal. He likewise ordered them to be kept apart, and more closely confined; and soon after transferred the Dean and his son from Elizabeth Castle, to a cell in Mont Orgeuil, in order that they might be more secure, as well as solitary.

As if to justify his suspicions, a frigate from Guernsey,

of five guns and a couple of petronels, accompanied by a smaller vessel, were in a few days seen cruising off the coast of Jersey, where they captured several fishing and *vraic* boats, which they carried into Guernsey and sold as lawful prizes.

About this time, the middle of July, intelligence reached the governor that the Parliament had lately been fitting out an armament of ships, the destination of which was not ascertained; but it was naturally feared that some of them might be intended for the invasion of Jersey;—an opinion not altogether unreasonable, for we find that towards the end of June, "the Earl of Warwick, with his fleet sailed along the coast, as the lord general marched, and carried his ammunition, and sent ships to keep in the enemy, and some to assist the parliament forces who besieged Gernsey Castle."[1] There was no knowing what they might do next, Carteret therefore took every precaution to prevent a surprise; he strengthened the ordinary guards, and placed others around the coast, under the command of officers of trust, selected from among the principal gentry. He likewise formed a temporary troop of horse, to make the rounds at night, and visit the different stations in succession, so as to be certain that every man was at his post. The militia, according to custom, kept watch and ward around the coast, whilst the regulars, consisting of English and Irish soldiers, undertook the like duty in the castles and the town.

Taking advantage of the panic engendered by the prospect of danger, the governor proposed to the states the expedient of obtaining the signs manual of the whole of the male inhabitants in further ratification of

[1] Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 88.

the act of allegiance, previously affirmed upon oath. A palpable imitation of the solemn league and covenant, adapted to locality and circumstance: the militia men affixing their signatures on a drum head, instead of "stepping into the chancel of St. Margaret's Church to sign."

The proposal being agreed to, a day was appointed for a general muster, and review of the militia; in anticipation of which, the governor made a declaration, whereby he pledged himself, for the good of his Majesty's service, and for the safety of the public, to maintain and defend the island to the best of his ability and power, against all aggression, so long as he felt that he could depend upon the cordial support of the inhabitants. This was done with the view of encouraging the commonalty, as a further inducement to them to conform; and in order to prove that the utmost unanimity existed between the military and civil authorities, he persuaded the states to sign a similar engagement.

Armed with these documents, and a copy of the former act of fealty, to which was appended a supplementary compact for attestation, he met the militia according to appointment. Instead of putting them through the usual military evolutions, as they had expected, he caused the engagement to be read aloud, and then placing it before them, required them to ratify it with their signatures. They obeyed accordingly: the governor signing first, the civil and other military functionaries next, and so on from the highest to the lowest, until the whole of the militia men had affixed their autographs, in some form or another, to the compact. In order that the ceremony might be rendered more imposing, the states ordered a fast day in imitation of the

prevailing fashion among the puritans, whose observances, the governor well knew, were regarded with much reverence by the islanders. The fast was observed with all solemnity and decorum, on the 11th of September;—the preceding day having been one of rejoicing with crackling of bonfires, and great waste of gunpowder, in celebration of a signal victory obtained over the Earl of Essex by the royalists in the west. On comparing dates, and making due allowance for the tardy transmission of intelligence, we find that the victory referred to, was the discomfiture of "the lord general," at Lostwithiel.

Notwithstanding the extensive demonstration of loyalty just alluded to, there were still some malcontents remaining in the island, most of them women, who from time to time indulged in a little impotent sedition. The men had been easily reduced to obedience, by the imposition of fines, varying in amount from one to three hundred *livres;* but the governor found it a much more difficult task to control the softer sex, who, from the commencement of the troubles, had espoused the cause of the parliamentarians, under the impression that the sole object of the latter in opposing the royalists was to prevent the re-establishment of papacy. This notion had been industriously inculcated by the leaders of the aspiring faction, especially by D'Assigny, *le roi des Halles* among the female portion of his flock, little less popular than the Duke De Beaufort, soon afterwards became among the *poissardes* of Paris.

On Lydcott's arrival these female partisans had received him with every manifestation of delight; they vied with each other in supplying his family with beds and linen, plates, dishes, and cooking utensils; in short,

with all that could contribute to domestic comforts—his own household effects having been delayed for some time on shipboard, owing to the tediousness of the voyage across the channel. Again, when the crews of the Parliament's vessels landed to assist in hunting down the royalists, the women received them in their houses, entertained them sumptuously, made favours of ribbons for them to wear in their hats,—wept and lamented at their departure. The tender-hearted creatures, those of the country as well as the town, pined away, becoming pale, and emaciated,—so says Chevalier,—and were like to die of grief at the final discomfiture and expulsion of the Roundheads.

Such being the prevailing temper of the Jersey womankind, it is not to be wondered at that Captain Carteret's arrival should prove highly distasteful to them, and that his subsequent proceeding sshould have provoked much clamorous opposition. They held tumultuous meetings, at which seditious sentiments were openly expressed; propagated false reports, accusing the royalists of the design to overthrow the Protestant religion; and, privately as well as publicly, exerted their most strenuous efforts to rekindle the smouldering spirit of disaffection.

They even went so far as to favour the evasion of a Captain Sippings, the English officer attached to the staff of the parliamentary governor of Guernsey, whom Bowden had confided to the safe keeping of Sir Peter Osborne. Sippings for some months was incarcerated in Castle Cornet; but his health beginning to suffer from confinement, and bad provisions, he was transferred to the custody of the governor of Jersey, who gave him an airy lodging in Elizabeth Castle, and

allowed him ten *sous* a-day for his maintenance. Having given his parole never to take up arms against the king, he was allowed to range at large between the castle and the town, associating continually with the royalist officers, from whom he received great attention, and who considered his conversion to royalty as a matter of course.

He appears, however, to have been more confidential in his communications with some of the fair dames of St. Helier's, who, informed of his anxiety to effect his escape, bribed the owner of a fishing boat, for the sum of ten *ecus*, to convey him out of the island, and land him on the small islet of Chausey. From thence he contrived to obtain a passage to Guernsey, where, instead of meeting with the reception he had a right to expect from his quondam friends, he was suspected as one tainted with malignancy, owing to the company he had kept for upwards of a twelvemonth; he was apprehended and sent a prisoner to England. It would scarcely have been worth while to have entered into these details respecting so obscure an individual, but for the following paragraphs in Whitelocke:—"The court marshal condemned three men, one Captain Syppins, for endeavouring to betray Gernsey.—Upon Major General Skippon's desire, the captain was reprieved, who endeavoured to have betrayed Gernsey.—The parliament pardoned Tho. Seppens, condemned by the council of war to dye."[1]

In the meantime, our female incendiaries became so redoubtable, from the boldness and activity of their attempts to re-excite disloyalty, that the judicial authorities were forced to interfere, more particularly as the agitators were not entirely confined to women of the lowest

[1] Whitelocke's Memorials, Oct. 1644, March 22d, 1644-5.

order. Those who possessed pecuniary means were fined, and obliged to give bail for their good conduct in future, whilst those who could not pay for the luxury of sedition and slander, were imprisoned. Others less wealthy, acquired notoriety in the pillory, and obtained the further martyrdom of banishment.

These ungallant proceedings, although they put a stop to active operations on the part of the indignant women, could not prevent passive resistance, as became evident when the governor sought winter quarters in the town for his troops; the castles not affording sufficient barrack accommodation. The taverns and the houses of the tradespeople had been found quite capacious enough to give quarters to the parliamentarians; but when forsooth the governor's soldiers required to be lodged, the master spirits of these establishments refused to admit them, stating that their houses were too small. The governor, by no means a man to be trifled with, at once met the difficulty by issuing a peremptory order for billeting his soldiers at free quarters on those who were in arrear in the payment of the subsidy, thereby providing for the comforts of his men, reimbursing himself, and paying off the recusants in their own coin.

Captain Carteret, during his residence at St. Maloes, and after his return to Jersey, besides victualling his own castles, had contributed whatever he could spare for the supply of Castle Cornet. This supply, however, being insufficient, Sir Peter Osborne wrote a letter to Charles I., and sent his son Henry[1] to the Prince of Wales, urgently requesting that soldiers and stores should be sent over, otherwise it would be impossible for him to maintain his important but precarious

[1] Colonel Osborne.

position, in the face of an enemy, and cut off from all resources from Guernsey. Henry Osborne, having with much difficulty obtained a small sum of money from Oxford, expended it in raising soldiers, whom he despatched to his father from Weymouth. The king, in his reply to Sir Peter, expressed satisfaction at his loyal deportment; and commanded him, as occasion served, to get such provisions and necessaries into his castle as he might conceive fitting, and could procure; "for which," continues his Majesty, "we do promise to make you, and such as shall assist you, just allowance and satisfaction upon account, and shall not fail to acknowledge your fidelity and good service to us, when we shall have opportunity offered us so to do. Given at our court at Oxford, the 9th day of April, in the nineteenth year of our reign." (1643.)[1]

The commandant of Castle Cornet, on the receipt of this letter, sent his wife, Lady Osborne, and his son Charles, to St. Maloes, with all the money he possessed, together with his plate and other valuables, to procure provisions and commodities for supplying his wants, and those of the garrison. He likewise sent his son John to Jersey, to concert measures with his friend and agent, Amias Andros, and his brother governor there, for transhipping provisions landed in that island from France, and causing them to be conveyed to Castle Cornet, whenever fair weather and dark nights permitted them to make the voyage without discovery. This was done accordingly, at intervals, throughout the season, and the fortress was thereby victualled for the winter.

In the month of June, 1644, Sir Peter received an exhortation, rather than a summons, to surrender, from

[1] Osborne Papers.

his former friend, the Earl of Warwick, then "aboord his Ma^ts^ ship, the James, at anchor before Lyme." The following temperate and courteous, but firm refusal, was returned :—

"My Lord,

"Your first lines bring me into a sad remembrance of y^t^ much valued happiness w^ch^ in your Lop^s^ favours, and those of your most honourable family I have formerly enjoyed, and by what I now suffer under your name, appeare to have lost, in the changes produced by these miserable times; yet shall I not depart from y^t^ affection, and true respect I shall ever beare your house, though it gives great encrease to the sense of my troubles y^t^ I find them laid upon me by your hand. But how sharpely soever that, being guided by others, may be pressed against mee, I never the lesse hope your long knowledge of mee will still suggest on my behalfe in the secret of your breast y^t^ no byas is like to draw my course away from the direct way of an honest man, which estimation I preferre before all things else. And since there is nothing more pretious in this world then a good name, nor that more conduceth to the next, then to preserve a cleare conscience, I shall most carefully avoid to receave a stayne in y^e^ one, and so neere y^e^ evening of my life to take a burden on the other.

"Both these oppose my obedience to your Lo^ps^ command for the delivering up of this Castle to y^t^ officer of yours you name,[1] w^ch^ many strong engagements oblige me not to doe; tyed by the faith of a trust, and the bond of an oath, lawefully given, and sincerely taken,

[1] Russel, Parliamentary Governor of Guernsey.

whereof no authority can acquitt me nor may keepe me from the shame y^t^ would follow me liveing, and accuse me ded. Moreover these Islands reserved by all Princes to their owne perculier, and governed by the lawes of Normandy of w^ch^ they are part, have never had to doe w^th^ Parlia^ts^, whose ordinances and commands not to extend hither, hath been ever accounted one of their chiefest freedomes, until some factious persons of late yeares, for ambitious & private ends attempted this innovation with intention onely to make deceitfully use of their power, w^thout yielding submission unto it as a right. Who never yet have been in any kinde provoked by any payments or taxes imposed by the king to seek out new protection, his Ma^tie^ haveing in no one perticuler made his Government heavy or greevious to them. And I for my part decline neither Parl: nor other inquisition, might this charge entrusted with me leave me free and att my liberty. For excepting a few mutinous spirits y^t^ were of necessitie to find pretence to sett on foot their designes, the greater numbers and generality w^th^ one voice acknowledge their is nothing at all to be objected to in me. Of this all the English brought against me as ennimies have the truth and ingenuity to be my witnessers. My answeare long since given to a former summons I am well assured your Lo^p^ hath seen, w^ch^ makes me forbeare the tediousness of a larger reply. And knowing it little pertinent to enter heere into a contestation concerning my right in the Government, I onely w^th^ your Lo^ps^ permission say this, y^t^ if the times were even to me I should have much cause to mistrust the state of my title, nor between an other and me to refuse your selfe for one of my judges, so honoble and just I beleeve you.

"In conclusion therefore, my L^d^, to weary you noe further, I am most heartily sorry my ardent desires can finde no hope in your Lo^ps^ letter of a happy accomodation of these woefull troubles, w^ch^ would prove a glorious and blessed worke for those that were y^e^ peacemakers. It duely hath my wishes and prayers every day. And now in my last wordes I humbly beseech your Lo^p^ to be pleased in breef to receeve my most humble thanks for those noble expressions of your favourable inclination to me, w^ch^ truly I believe your goodness in, although this tempestuous storm blowes us one against another and doubt not however this world goes but y^t^ wee shall all meet friends again in heaven, presenting you likewise w^th^ most humble acknowledgements for your consideration of y^t^ desolate fugitive my wife, driven to seeke refuge and her safety among strangers whom w^th^ her children I must leave to their patience and their great God y^t^ brought to the lowest extreamity can raise them up againe, whose blessed will be done both in them and mee. If I perish your Lo^p^ will loose a most faithfull well-wisher in mee y^t^ determined by God's assistance to make good this place like an honest man, am never the lesse

"Your Lo^ps^ most humble servant,

"PETER OSBORNE.

"To the right Hono^ble^ the Earle of Warwick."

"Castle Cornet, June 22d, 1644.[1]

Apprehensive, however, that an attack on the part of the rebel fleet would be the result of his refusal to come to terms, and being again reduced to great straits, and

[1] Osborne Papers.

in a languishing condition, he enclosed a letter he had received from the king addressed to the governor of Jersey, in which the latter was required to provide for the wants of Castle Cornet,—"a fortress not only of great importance to the royal cause, but to himself and his island in particular."

Captain Carteret, fearful of the consequences, and unwilling to disobey an express command from royalty, at once sent off for provisions from St. Maloes to be transmitted to Castle Cornet on their arrival in Jersey, as they could not with safety be sent thither direct from France. Distrustful of his Majesty's solvency, and being "out of purse" for previous advances to Osborne and his lady, he became anxious for repayment, and wrote to his debtor thus, on the arrival of the provisions:—

"Sr.

"Heere hath been a boat at S^{t} John this three weekes and above, upon passage to go unto you; they have put twice at sea and forced backe into the Harbor. I hope that this night they will put againe to sea. The boat wherein Seig^{r} Samareas came in, is now lading to goe this tide to S^{t} John to take the opportunity of the first winde and weather; they are a Company of good hearty men in her which puts me in great hopes of their successe. The first boat is laden with victualls send by yo^{r} Lady from S^{t} Malo, this is wholly laden with my victualls, and I shall alwayse be ready to assist you in what I can. I am already out of purse about three thousend livers more than what I have rec^{d} for yo^{r} service, accounting about one thousand livers lent in money at severall tymes to yo^{r} Lady, the rest is for ꝑvisions sent unto you,

if I could be pay[d] of that same I would willingly lay out the same againe in victualls for yo[r] Castle. Heere came a boat yesterday from S[t] Malo that brings Newses that yo[r] Lady and eldest son are gon for England, and that (w[ch] makes me thinke it is not soe) they have Shipt themselves in a parliam[t] shipp to goe to London. I knowe not what feares and doubts of the suxcesse of things may worke upon women, but I am certaine wee are in the right, and the king is as powerfull as ever. For my part I will assist you as long as I have anything, and that for noe other Consideracon then to doe the king and you service, for if you consider the businesse well our ꝑservation heere depents not of that of the Castle of Gernesey. Notwithstanding that I should be very sorry to have soe ill a Nabourgh as they, and to ꝑvent the same I will spent all I have in the world. Pray send me backe if you thinke fit one of my boates, and I will send you a larger supply by the nexte, soe I humbly take my leave, and rest

"Yo[r] most faithfull
"humble servant
"G. CARTERETT."[1]

"Jersey, 15th Augs[t] 1644."

The boats mentioned in the foregoing letter reached their destination and returned without impediment. But one dark night, at low spring tide, a soldier deserted from the castle, and, traversing the space which separates it from the main land, gave notice to the Guernsey rebels that the fortress which had so long defied and annoyed them by bombarding their town,

[1] He subsequently required Osborne to secure payment of the debt on his own personal security, engaging part of the revenue of Guernsey

was in great want of provisions, and must necessarily be given up, unless supplies expected from Jersey arrived speedily. The parliament ships, anchored on the bank, which had not of late kept a sharp look out, were now ordered to be on the alert, and this intelligence coming to the ears of Captain Carteret, he sent an armed convoy with the next batch of boats. They also landed their cargoes in safety; whereupon the islanders deeming that the guard ships were either incompetent or indifferent to the duty they were put upon, collected a number of armed shallops of their own, which they stationed at various points in the vicinity of the castle, so as to intercept whatever might come next from Jersey.

In a day or two a couple of boats, under convoy of Captain Carteret's galley, were descried; the galley commanded by the daring George Bowden, being considerably in advance of the rest. As she neared the castle a gun was fired from the island batteries, at which signal she was speedily beset on all sides by pinnaces from the parliament ships, and shallops from the shore. One of the latter, coming within pistol shot, discharged a volley of musketry into the galley, with no other effect, however, than that of cutting asunder the knot which secured Bowden's shoulder-belt. The expert seaman, by no means unaccustomed to this mode of salutation, ordered the helmsman to bear her broadside on, whereupon he poured a shower of grape-shot into the offending shallop, which immediately sheered off under a chorus of shrieks and groans from her wounded and baffled crew. The parliamentary pinnaces coming up, a sharp encounter (*un combat fort âpre*) ensued, but the galley, with her

when reduced; this led to much ill blood, and further correspondence between the two governors, in the latter of which Lord Jermyn and Sir Richard Browne took part.

crew of between thirty and forty resolute fellows, not only succeeded in dispersing them, but gained the castle without having a man wounded among the crew; here she found one of her consorts which had run in whilst she was engaged in the *melée*. The crews of both craft immediately set to work in unloading, but as they were thus employed the shore batteries opened a fire upon them, which did much damage, and dismounted the galley's gun, but without wounding any of the men. Both vessels then took shelter behind Castle Cornet, and in the course of the night returned to Jersey. The other consort was chased by the enemy and forced to run for the coast of Normandy, and not being heard of for some days was given up for lost; but a few nights after the castle was hailed by the crew of the missing boat, and stores were added to those already landed.

Governor Russel, who had offered a considerable reward for the capture of the galley, and had boasted to the Guernsey rebels that he would soon place the castle, which caused them so much annoyance, in their hands, was exceedingly provoked at his late discomfiture, and visited his rage on the crews of his shallops, many of whom he caused to be keel-hauled in view of the royalists, hoping that they would render the punishment more terrible by firing upon them. He then, much disheartened at finding that the castle was relieved for the winter, no longer kept his pataches on the watch; and the parliament, finding it dangerous as well as expensive to maintain their ships on the bank, withdrew the greater part of them, so that there was no longer any other impediment to the introduction of supplies into Castle Cornet, than that of providing ways and means.

It was an easy matter for the king, ignorant of the state of the Jersey exchequer, to require his local representative to make advances out of the receipts of the crown, or on the faith of his personal promises; but the royal revenue had long been exhausted, and Captain Carteret had not as yet discovered the mine from whence his coffers were subsequently replenished. Being, however, far too confident in the ultimate triumph of the good cause, to question the fulfilment of the royal pledge, and far too loyal to confess his inability to support it, he bethought himself of an expedient, *pour se tirer d'embarras*, by calling upon the more opulent and devoted among the Jersey royalists to afford Sir Peter pecuniary aid. In pursuance of this design he appointed a couple of agents in each parish to reach their pockets by representing to them the destitute condition of Castle Cornet; the likelihood of its being invested by the rebels, *afin le prendre le chateau par les dents;* the disgrace and danger which must accrue to them if this important fortress, the key of their position, were reduced by famine through neglect. The consequence of this dextrous appeal to the feelings and interests of the community was a liberal subscription, which enabled Carteret to send relief to the distressed castle throughout the whole of the winter and ensuing spring.

The galley in which Bowden had so bravely resisted the combined attack of the Guernsey flotilla, is a craft of too much consequence to be dismissed from these pages without further notice, she being the progenitrix, as it were, of a long line of men-of-war,—none of them first-rates as we shall see, but quite as mischievous, if not more so. Captain Carteret, in the

spring of 1644, finding that his Majesty's affairs were not over prosperous on land, determined to harass his enemies as much as possible by sea. He therefore ordered a swift galley, adapted alike for sailing as for rowing, to be built expressly for him at St. Maloes. She was no sooner launched, rigged, and fitted with twelve pair of oars, than he mounted her deck with one cannon and a couple of swivels, all of brass; equipped her with stores and ammunition; manned her with a crew of thirty-six sturdy seamen, armed with muskets, pistols, swords, and cutlasses; and sent her under George Bowden's command to cruise against the parliament's ships. She thenceforth became a great scourge to the rebels, and "proved the ruin of many honest merchants and other unfortunate people; for she long continued to prowl about the channel, like a wolf in search of prey, and made a great number of captures, as will be seen in the course of this journal."

Proceedings similar to Captain Carteret's seem to have been projected about this time in the Irish Channel, as may be inferred from the following passage in a letter from Sir Edward Nicholas to the Marquis of Ormonde, dated Oxon, March 5th, 1643-4:—"I wish your Excellency would there see (in Ireland) if you can get any private men to set forth ships at their own charge from that kingdom, with letters of *marine* to take any such *English* vessels as are belonging to the Rebells here, which is the way for you to have ships for your occasions sometimes; and here ships are, not unprofitably, so employed on this coast."[1]

From the State-paper Office we derive the subjoined

[1] Carte's Life of Ormonde, vol. iii. p. 252.

letter, which bears on the subject, and which we insert, as we shall have some dealings with Captain Browne Bushell hereafter :—

" Sir John Pennington,

" Whereas Captaine Browne Bushell hath formerly done his Ma^ty^ many good and acceptable services by virtue of a commission w^ch^ he had from the Marques of Newcastle, w^ch^ by reason of my Lord's abscence beyond sea, it seemes is not valued abroad; it is his Ma^ties^ pleasure that for his further enablement to doe his Ma^ty^ services, you cause a commission to bee issued in due forme, directed unto him, according to the tenor and intent of his former commission above mençened, Wherof I send you a copy, restinge

Yo affectionate Servant,

GEORGE DEGBYE."

" To my worthy Friend,
S^r^ John Pennington, Kn^t^.
at Bristol."

"Excester, y^e^ 21 of September, 1644."

It is not improbable that Captain Carteret's early career in the "Navy Royal," against the Salee rovers, by initiating him in the theory of this species of predatory warfare, may have suggested the idea of its adaptation to existing circumstances. He had, moreover, an able prompter, and a useful coadjutor, in Bowden, who, since his exploits in the *George*, of Dover, had taken service with him, and soon became a copartner in the privateering business,—profit and loss being equally shared between them.

This galley, called *par excellence* the governor's, set out on her first cruise about the middle of July, and,

coasting along from Normandy as far as Picardy, captured a Dover barque, laden with faggots and firewood, bound for the London market, and took her into Jersey, where she was adjudged good prize, on the principle that "all is fish that comes to net." Continuing his cruise for about six weeks longer between the shores of Picardy and England, Bowden took three or four more prizes, some with valuable cargoes, which he sent also into Jersey. One of these prizes, a fine vessel, just off the stocks, was speedily fitted out as a man-of-war by Carteret and Bowden conjointly, and being equipped with four pieces of ordnance, and a large crew, was despatched on a predatory voyage. Falling in with a ship belonging to North Yarmouth, just off the entrance of Dieppe harbour, under convoy of a small frigate called the *Quash*, she took them both and sent them into Jersey. The Yarmouth ship, of seven or eight tons burthen, laden with coals, and mounting one cannon, and two swivels, was condemned as a lawful prize, and valued at eight hundred *livres tournois*. This sum, in addition to some five thousand *livres*, the product of Bowden's first cruise, proved a seasonable relief to Captain Carteret, not only enabling him to meet present expenditure, but revealing to him an inexhaustible source of future revenue. He was thereby encouraged to persevere in a course of enterprise so profitably commenced; and, by converting every new and likely capture into a privateer, he in a few months acquired a considerable and not unformidable squadron.

His majesty Charles the First, finding that this mode of retaliation, whereby enemies were despoiled, and partizans enriched, tended to create a diversion in his favour, and enabled the lieutenant-governor of Jersey to

maintain the royalist castles, without further demands upon the royal exchequer, resolved to legalize Captain Carteret's operations, by conferring on him the office of vice-admiral.

This commission, recently and accidentally discovered, after having lain dormant for a couple of ages, among the documents bequeathed to his descendants by Amias Andros, the Guernsey royalist, George Carteret's friend, and admiralty-judge, is dated at Oxford, the 13th day of the month of December, in the year of our Lord 1644: bearing his Majesty's signature, and the seal of his high court of Admiralty.

It occupies a whole skin of parchment engrossed in barbarous Latin, and "endows our trusty and well-beloved George Carteret with the offices of vice-admiral, commissary and deputy in the islands of Guernsey, Jersey, Sark, Alderney, and the maritime parts adjacent;" conferring on him entire power and jurisdiction over all things on or in the sea, including not only ships and men, but "all goods, waifs, flotsom, jetsom, or lagons, all treasures cast ashore by accident, such as whales, sperm whales, porpoises, dolphins, riggs, grampus, and all other fish whatsoever, which by reason of their vast size and fatness have, by ancient custom, been held to belong and appertain to the office of our chief admiralty of England."

By virtue of this extensive patent Captain Carteret's navy acquires a legitimate character, his privateers assume the dignity of royal men-of-war, and numbers of adventurers shelter under his flag, and obtain roving commissions under the designation of letters of *marine*, or letters of *marque*. "He caused to be equipped," says Falle, "about half a score small frigates or priva-

teers, to cruise upon ships trafficking under passports from the parliament's officers. Those soon struck a terror all over the channel; trade was interrupted, merchants complained of their losses, few would venture to sea without convoys; and then it came to be understood what mischief may be done to England by those islands being in the hands of enemies."[1]

[1] The names of the chiefs among these free mariners will be found in the official list of persons attached to the service of the Prince of Wales in Jersey. Their exploits, curious and illustrative of the manners and customs of the time, and therefore subservient to the purposes of history, would, nevertheless, interfere too much with the thread of our narrative, if inserted in this work; they must therefore be reserved for some other publication.

CHAPTER V.

THE GOVERNOR'S DESPOTISM—THE DEAN'S ESCAPE, AND DEATH—ROYAL COMMISSIONERS—STAR-CHAMBER PROCEEDINGS—A POLITICAL OFFENDER EXECUTED—OUTLAWS HUNG IN EFFIGY—LETTERS FROM PRINCE CHARLES—SIR THOMAS FANSHAWE—CASTLE CORNET AGAIN SUMMONED—SUBSCRIPTION FOR ITS RELIEF—DESPATCHES FROM THE PRINCE—PRESENT OF WAR HORSES—GEORGE CARTERET KNIGHTED—DISPLAY OF LOYAL ZEAL.

LEAVING the new vice-admiral to pursue professional avocations which doubtless paved the way to his appointment as treasurer of the royal navy after the restoration, we shall cull from our journalist's minute details some account of his proceedings as military chief and statesman during the year 1645. In both these capacities—thrown entirely on his own resources, standing alone in the midst of powerful enemies and impotent friends, he seems to have performed an arduous, and in some measure self-imposed task with great sagacity, great ability, and indomitable energy.

In such a position it was impossible not to be despotic; a despot therefore he was; and it cannot be denied that some of his acts, especially his steady persecution of his late uncle's enemies, and his own political opponents, savour strongly of tyranny. They do not appear, nevertheless, to have been regarded in that light by his contemporaries; even Chevalier gives utterance to no warm burst of virtuous indignation, but

regards the severity he exercised as a natural process of retribution justified on the grounds of wounded feelings; condemning his acts solely on account of the collateral sufferings entailed on the inoffending relatives of the delinquents. With this exception, Carteret's administration of affairs in his all but independent vice-royalty, is not characterised by harshness or inhumanity; rather the contrary. It is not our design, however, to elevate him into a hero of romance, or to endeavour to excite sympathy in his behalf. Whatever may have been the difficulties he had to encounter during his government of Jersey, it is clear that they were only forced upon him by circumstances of his own seeking; either from his exuberant loyalty, or owing to his thirst for personal distinction and aggrandizement. Regard for the welfare of his native island appears indeed to have been in his mind only a secondary consideration.

The first step taken against political offenders, evidently at his instigation, was on the 12th of January, when the *procureur du roi* prayed the royal court to make an order for the return of all absentees, representing that there were a number of the inhabitants absent from the island, some having left it before, some since, it had been reduced to obedience to his Majesty; and that it was necessary in time of war and commotion such as the present, for every native to lend his aid in defending the place against the king's enemies from abroad, as well as against those who were seeking to stir up intestine strife. On this representation the court unanimously passed an act requiring that all fugitives, or other absentees, not having the governor's leave, should return to the island on or before the 25th of March ensuing, under pain, in the event of disobedience, of

being declared disloyal subjects and traitors to the king; with forfeiture of all their goods, chattels and estates for the uses of the island, and for its maintenance, in due subjection to his majesty Charles the First. The proper officers were ordered to proclaim this ordinance in all the parishes of Jersey, in order that the friends of the absentees might learn, and communicate its purport to them.

This proclamation, the governor well knew, was equivalent to a sentence of outlawry against the exiles; enabling him to hold their property in sequestration, and appropriate it to the uses of the state. But he was likewise aware that neither their offences, nor those of the persons he had imprisoned in the castles, were of sufficient magnitude to warrant confiscation of property, or the infliction of capital punishment. He was anxious to attaint them all of lèze majesté for rebellion against the king in the person of his representative, the late Sir Philip; but the local judicature was incompetent to try or convict in cases of this kind, the cognisance of high treason being reserved to the crown. This difficulty, however, he surmounted by petitioning for a royal commission of *oyer and terminer* to be sent over to Jersey. The king having nothing to refuse to so loyal and faithful a servant as George Carteret, granted this request without hesitation, as he did every other proposition made by his lieutenant-governor, and thereby enabled him to follow up those harsh measures which redound so little to his fame.

About this time Sir Thomas Jermyn, who had for some years enjoyed a snug sinecure as governor of Jersey, happened to forego its now questionable emoluments by paying the debt of nature. The reversion of

this post had previously been secured to his son Henry, who, notwithstanding an accusation of treason against him by the House of Commons, had been made a peer at the Queen's importunate request. On the 10th of February Captain Carteret convened the states, and imparted to them the contents of a letter he had received from Lord Jermyn, then in attendance upon her Majesty at St. Germains, confirming him in the office and dignity of deputy governor of Jersey, as he had been under the deceased Sir Thomas.

The official announcement was received with acclamation by the states, and the lieutenant-governor was gratified at the prospect of continuing in power; but his complacency was disturbed early the next morning by the intelligence that two of his intended victims, David Bandinel and his son, had escaped from their state prison. He immediately issued warrants, and offered a reward of two hundred *francs* for their apprehension; besides this he sent orders to the constables to make diligent search in every part of the island, to lay an embargo on all havens and creeks, and not to allow a single boat to quit without his express permission.

It has already been mentioned, that Captain Carteret, in the month of December, 1643, had caused the unfortunate dean and his son, to be confined in Elizabeth Castle; and that about the beginning of July ensuing, they had been transferred for greater security to Mont Orgueil. Here they had been detained ever since, closely guarded, but not badly treated. For instance, they were permitted during the day to breathe fresh air on the ramparts, or on the platform of the lofty keep, and at night, although under lock and key, they were indulged with visits from their wives, relatives and friends, who added little

delicacies to their prison fare, and sought to divert their minds from dwelling on the not improbable prospect of perpetual imprisonment, by imparting news from the outer world.

They had been detained in one castle and the other about fourteen months, when among topics of conversation, the expected arrival of the Royal commissioners was discussed, as well as the recent execution of Archbishop Laud, neither of them agreeable subjects, and the latter peculiarly painful, especially to the elder Bandinel, whom Laud had much befriended, and through whose patronage he mainly owed his preferment to the deanery. After the departure of their visitors, the unhappy prisoners brooded over the melancholy news in the gloomy solitude of their chamber, until they conjured up the apprehension that a fate similar to Laud's awaited them on the coming of the commissioners; and they in consequence determined, at all hazards, even that of life, to escape from durance.

The circumstances attending their daring attempt, the perils of the enterprise, the wild scene in which it was undertaken amid the war of the elements, and the disastrous events which resulted from it, are dwelt on by the contemporary journalist with a minuteness which invests the adventure with a character not far removed from the romantic.

The prisoners, one far advanced in years, the other beyond middle age, both intent upon their project, occupied themselves during their daily walks, in examining the walls of the fortress, in order to detect some opening through which there might be any possibility of gaining the exterior of the circumvallation. After much anxious, but furtive scrutiny, they fixed

upon a loophole in the eastern curtain, which they knew belonged to a cell communicating as they surmised through a suite, with the room they occupied.

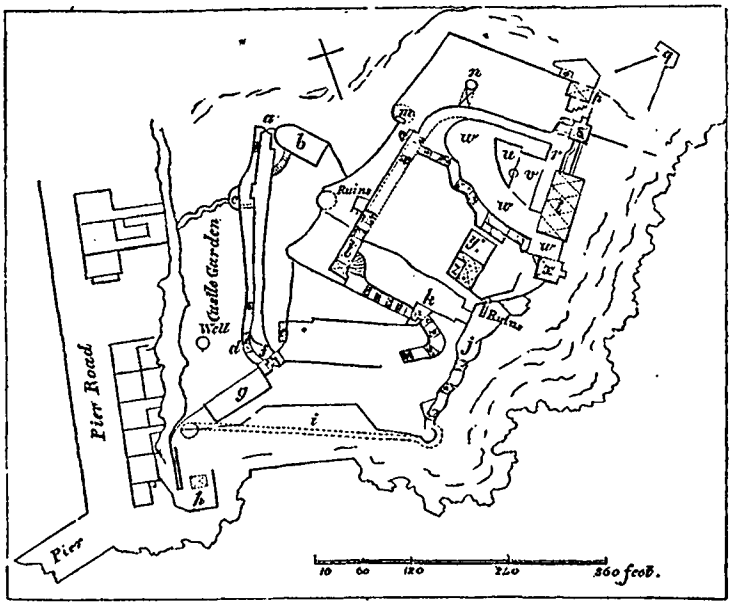
It may be well to explain that, then as now, the only intervening space between the foundation of this curtain and the scabrous rocks which trend, like a rugged gigantic staircase, precipitously down to the water's edge, is a narrow inclining ledge of sward interspersed with sharp stones, furze and brambles: an insecure landing-place, after a rapid descent from between one and two hundred feet, the least impulse involving precipitation from one point of rock more craggy than another, down into the rapid tides which surge around the base.[1]

The apartment occupied by the despairing captives was situated in the upper story of the *donjon* of the castle, upwards of two hundred feet above the level of the sea, and immediately beneath the platform, surmounted only by its embattled parapet. Here during the watches of the night, succeeding each daily observation, they matured their perilous design, well aware of the danger and difficulty attending its execution, but equally assured that it afforded the only chance of

[1] The following lines, nearly as rugged as the rocks they describe, are extracted from Prynne's "Poeticall description of Mount Orgeuil Castle:"—

"Two boystrous foes sometimes assail with losse
This Fortresse which their progresse seems to crosse.
The raging waves below which ever dash
Themselves in pieces, while with it they clash.
The stormy winds above, whose blasts due breake
Themselves, not it, for which they are too weake—
For why? this Fort is built upon a rocke,
And so by Christ's own verdict free from shocke,
Of floods and winds, which on it often beate,
Yet never shake it, but themselves defeate."

PLAN OF MONT ORGUEIL CASTLE.



To face Vol. i. *p.* 238.

REFERENCES.

a 1st Gateway.
b Tower, called Harliston's.
c West Barbican.
d West Sally-port.
e Stable.
f 2d Gateway.
g Guard-room and Canteen.
h Lower Battery & Magazine.
i South, or King Charles's Room.
j Le Mont Tower.
k 3d Gateway.
l 4th Gateway.
m Belfry and Bell Tower.
n Well.
o Vaulted Room, discovered in 1837.
p East, or King Charles's Sallyport.
q Fort de César.
r Inner Gate.
s Principal Magazine.
t Upper Crypt.
u Court.
v Donjon.
w Keep.
x Prynne's Cell.
y Lower Crypt & St. George's Chapel.
z Governor's Vault.

escaping from an ignominious death. Every moment during which they felt themselves secure from interruption, was employed in preparation. In the first place a knotted rope was fabricated from bed cords, blankets, towels, or whatever other textile materials they could surreptitiously obtain: in the second they laboured to make their way to the external wall, in which was contained the loop-hole they had observed from the ramparts. The first impediment to be overcome was a door concealed by furniture. In this door, by means of holes bored close together with a gimblet, (*vilebraquin*) they at length managed to start a pannel, which gave them access to a vacant apartment, from whence, however, to their great perplexity, they could discover no other outlet than that which had admitted them. After some further examination, they found a closet with a doorway recently walled up; on this they set to work with their gimblet, and such rude implements as their cooking utensils afforded, and in process of time and by dint of great labour continued at intervals, they ultimately contrived to form an aperture sufficient for their purpose. Through this aperture they entered the much desired cell,[1] and through the narrow loop-hole in its massive wall, enjoyed the satisfaction of contemplating the darkness visible of a midnight sky in the depth of winter.

Having accomplished thus much of their arduous task, they waited impatiently for the fittest opportunity of setting out on their forlorn hope. The night of the 10th of February was so tempestuous, that trees were torn up by the roots in the vicinity of the castle; and the sentries on the battlements, for fear of being

[1] This cell is still traditionally mentioned as that in which William Prynne slept during his incarceration in Mont Orgueil.

blown over the parapet by the violence of the wind, were forced to seek shelter away from their posts. Far from being intimidated by the raging of the storm, our desperate adventurers hailed it as the harbinger of safety and success. About an hour after midnight, when they were certain that all, besides themselves, within the castle must have retired to rest, they crept through the openings they had made, repaired to the recess at the extremity of the suite, and through the narrow chink high up in its massive walls, beheld the scud driving furiously across the scattered stars, which seemed to twinkle as an encouragement to perseverance.

Clambering up, not without much difficulty, to the place of egress, they fastened one end of their rope to the iron handle of a pot-ladle, driven securely into a crevice between the stones. The younger Bandinel, thrusting himself sideways through the narrow chink, first essayed the descent, unconscious of the fresh peril that attended it; he had miscalculated the elevation, the rope was in consequence too short, and, when he was still a considerable distance from the ground, the end slipped from his burning palms, and he fell with a fearful shock upon the shelving bank. Sorely bruised, but unstunned, he instinctively clutched the stems of plants within his reach, and was thus preserved from falling over the precipice, on the verge of which he lay, conscious of his father's impending fate, but powerless to avert it. He heard the fatal cord flap against the wall as it was drawn up; he fancied he could distinguish the doomed figure emerging from the aperture, and after a few moments of agonising suspense a heavy fall close beside him, and a half-stifled groan, announced the expected catastrophe.

The hapless dean, rejoicing doubtless at the supposed safety of his son, had twisted the rope around his body for greater security, thereby shortening it still more. With less muscular power than his son, he descended with more rapidity, so that the sudden tension, when he came to the limit of the treacherous cord, caused it to snap asunder, and instead of remaining suspended in mid air, as he otherwise would have done, he fell from a greater height than his unfortunate precursor.

James Bandinel, recovering after a time in some measure from the bodily shock he had sustained, exerted himself to crawl towards his prostrate father. Finding him still alive, although insensible, he placed him as securely as possible, stripped off his own doublet, with which he covered him, and then, with great difficulty, made his way to the residence of his mother and brother, to obtain assistance for his father, and concealment for himself.

Soon after daybreak, some of the people from the castle, seeing what appeared to be a dead body resting on the edge of the cliff, proceeded to the spot, and, to their astonishment, recognised in the mutilated mass the unconscious, but not yet lifeless, form of the lately imprisoned dean. Perceiving that his respiration was much impeded by that portion of the cord which tightly encircled his waist, they cut the ligature, whereupon he breathed more freely. They conveyed him with much care back to the castle; his wife was sent for, and speaking to him on her arrival he seemed to revive, but only for a moment. He lingered on unconscious, groaning at intervals, for some hours, and then expired.

There is a notice in the records of the island of an inquest having been held on his body, and, to avert the

suspicion of his having been murdered, a verdict was returned and registered, that he had perished in an attempt to escape from prison, and not by the hands of others.

Chevalier, in commenting on his end, observes that he, who during his lifetime had been designated by the title of venerable, and had been invested with the privilege of permitting or refusing sepulture to others within the walls of a church, was himself excluded from the hallowed precincts, and interred in the ordinary cemetery of St. Martin's, of which he had been the rector; his only monument a large, but perishable, hawthorn. "An ignominious and melancholy end for so haughty a man, —a man whose talents, well directed and well regulated, would have rendered him a blessing to the island, but, perverted by evil passions and pernicious councils, he proved a scourge to the community,—the destroyer of his own happiness, and his own life. His conduct towards Sir Philip Carteret casts a stain upon his memory, not to be washed out if every drop of water in the ocean were employed for the purpose."

James Bandinel, more fortunate than his father, only in having escaped with life, at first found refuge with his brother Thomas, but conscious that here he must soon be discovered, he caused himself to be removed on a litter to his sister's residence, more in the interior of the country. The sister's husband, fearful of the consequences, declined to harbour him; other relatives and quondam friends, in like manner and for the same reason, refused him admission, and, after being transferred from house to house, he at length found an asylum in the cottage of a poor widow, in the parish of St. Lawrence. Here he obtained temporary rest; but at the end of two days,

his retreat being discovered, the lieutenant-governor in person came to the cottage, attended by a posse of officials. Captain Carteret, whose animosity against the son was in no way abated by the awful catastrophe that had befallen the father, ordered the suffering survivor, whose hurts were aggravated by previous fatigue, to be taken back to prison; and he was carried into the gates of the castle at the very moment the mutilated remains of the dean were being conveyed to their last home. In the prison, he recovered to a certain extent from the severe injuries he had sustained, being carefully tended, not so much from humanity as from the motives which induce savages to improve the condition of the victims whom they reserve for future torture.

On the 25th of March, the commencement of the new year, according to the old style, Chevalier writes thus: "L'auteur de ce recueil fremit d'horreur de la narration des choses étranges, et inouies en cette isle auparavant, qui ont été faites. En cette ditte année, sa main tremblante, et sa plume chancelante entre ses doigts, ne sachant par quel endroit commencer ce que ses yeux, dejà ternis, ont vu être arrivé en cette année, entre les naturels habitans de cette isle, lesquelles il à couché par ecrit comme elles se sont arrivées de suite."

On this day the *vicomte*, in virtue of an order from his Majesty, transmitted through the lieutenant-governor, called over the names of the fugitives,[1] and finding that only four had surrendered themselves up to justice, he

[1] We insert the names, from Chevalier, as it may be useful to refer to them as the narrative proceeds.

List of those who fled on the arrival of Captain Carteret:—Henry Dumaresq, Michael Lemprière, Abraham Herault, the three parliamentary committee men; Peter D'Assigny, pastor; John Herault, Simeon Esnouf, Benjamin Lemprière, Thomas Pipes, George Dumaresq, Nicholas

declared that in consequence of the rest not having obeyed the summons issued on the 10th of January, their estates and personal property were rendered liable to confiscation.

On the 18th of April three royal commissioners and a secretary, instruments of George Carteret's implacability, came to Jersey direct from Paris; not, as had been expected, from Oxford where the court then was. This fact, added to the circumstance that three out of the four were papists, and none of them the persons originally nominated by the king, gave rise to the belief that the queen had interposed, and substituted her own creatures—an opinion by no means unreasonable, as we shall find hereafter. The commissioners were John Poley, John Nicholas Vaughan, and Henry Janson; their secretary was one Perret, a native of Lyons. Poley was the only protestant, and Vaughan and the secretary the only persons who spoke French.[1]

Effard, André Durell, Philip Le Boutillier, Clement Lemprière, Henry Durel, Jean Gonmeril, Clement Mollet, Thomas Roger, Elie Chevalier, Abraham Le Gallais, Nicholas Durel, Moise Durel, Abraham Becquet, Jean Le Baillif, Jean Ricard, Pierre Ricard, François Luce, Thomas De St. Croix, Claude Le Rossignol, Phillipe Le Feuvre, Thomas Robert, Pierre Salmon, Denis Le Guerdain, Aaron Corbet, Guillaume Huard, Jacques Stocal, Daniel Norman, Philippe Messervey, Thomas Bertram, Jacques Lemprière, Samuel Chevalier, Thomas Bichard, Le Petit Philippe Le Feuvre, Jean Le Feuvre.

[1] In our endeavours to ascertain the history of these commissioners, we are frustrated as regards John Poley. From the Fasti Oxonienses, however, we glean that on July 5th, 1638, "John Nicholas Vaughan, a Cambro-Britain, sometimes of Jesus Coll. in this University, afterwards Doctor of the Laws of Padua, was also then incorporated, having spent 10 years in the study of that faculty." A ten-years-man in fact, "he was the son of Nicholas Vaughan, Esq."

The true orthography of Janson's name is derived from his own signature, but it puzzles Chevalier, as well as Sir Edward Hyde. The former wavers between Jansen, Janson, Harison and Aemison;

The commission itself, although acknowledged to be strictly constitutional, was regarded by the natives as an uncalled for innovation, rendered still more unpalateable by the qualifications, or, as they deemed them, the disqualifications of the persons who composed it. The islanders were justly offended at finding that one only of the judges was conversant with the language in which the proceedings were to be conducted; and their religious feelings were outraged at the idea that the majority of the tribunal consisted of persons professing doctrines for which they entertained the deepest abhorrence.

On the 24th, the opening day of the chief pleas, the governor entered the court, attended by the commissioners, who produced the patent[1] whereby his Majesty

the latter in his "small hand" writes him down Jonson, others call him Yanson and Fanson. Anthony Wood himself, that great authority, seems to be perplexed, but tells us that "Henry Iänson, Hianson or Eyanson, son of Sir Brian Iänson, of London, (sometimes a commoner of Magd. Coll) and he a second son of Sir Brian Iänson, of Beaconsfield, in Bucks, Knight, was born in Warwickshire; became a gent. com. of Bal. Coll. an. 1631, aged 15 years * or thereabouts; and a fellow of Alls. Coll. in 1638." In 1641 he proceeded to the civil law, was well esteemed, and the next year was one of those entrusted with the carriage of money lent by the University to Charles the First. Dr. Janson afterwards served as an officer in the royal army, then travelled beyond the seas, turned Roman Catholic, wrote several works, and in 1684 died a Baronet, "but a poor one God wot."†

[1] This patent was written in Latin, the Royal sign manual was affixed to it, as also a seal of green instead of yellow wax, in token that the commission was intended to be temporary, and not of permanent duration.

* From this we learn that he must have been about twenty-nine years of age when he visited Jersey. Chevalier speaks of him as the youngest of the Royal Commissioners, and afterwards introduces his father Sir Brian to our notice, whereby his identity is established.

† Athenæ Oxonienses, vol. ii. 762—Fasti, vol. i. 154.

conferred on them full powers to sit in judgment on all persons accused of political offences, during, and since the late revolt, and to condemn them to such pains and penalties as the nature of their crimes deserved. The patent having been read in open court, and thus locally legalized, Dr. Vaughan was installed in the presidential chair, and proceedings commenced. The governor represented that the island exchequer was inadequate to meet the heavy expenditure required for victualling the castles of Jersey and Guernsey, so as to place them in a posture to resist his Majesty's external enemies, or to keep down the mutinous spirit of the islanders, fostered as it was by the machinations of those who had fled and were protected by the English rebels. He doubted not that every loyal subject would be ready to contribute a small portion of his worldly substance in so good a cause; and therefore proposed that a subsidy by no means onerous, as he asserted, should be levied on the community in general, at the rate of ten *sous* on every quarter of wheat-rent, or its equivalent (fifty *ecus*). The commissioners and other members of the court highly approved of this proposition, and the states subsequently ratified it, and ordered it to be carried into effect, under a protest that it should not form a precedent for the future.

The most cordial understanding prevailed between the governor, the commissioners, and the rest of the authorities; and at the conclusion of the proceedings, the governor ordered his body guard of militia-musketeers assembled in the square to fire a *feu de joie;* he then distributed twenty crowns among them, in order that they might carouse in honour of the commissioners.

Captain Carteret, on the strength of his new subsidy,

immediately took measures for strengthening his garrisons and provisioning his castles; and, as the summer campaign was opening he, as usual, doubled the guards at the outposts, and established nightly rounds of cavalry, to visit the sentries. His own corps of infantry, two hundred strong, all natives of the island, drilled and officered by English corporals, being effective for any service, were appointed to mount guard in the town, a duty previously performed by regulars whom he now retained in his garrisons. He also sent his galley with stores to Castle Cornet, which were landed in safety, but not without her having had a brush with the boats of two parliament frigates and three sloops, which fell upon her the moment she made her appearance, like a pack of hounds upon a hare. She sustained some damage in her sails and rigging, and Bowden's face was scorched by the bursting of a paterero, whereupon Sir Peter Osborne, by way of reprisal, cannonaded the town of St. Peter Port.

On the 28th, the commissioners and the states passed an ordinance for confiscating the revenues of the late parliamentary committee, and other delinquents; and those who owed them any money were required to pay it into the hands of the sheriff within eight days, on pain of being considered accomplices, and punished accordingly.

After this, more than a month elapsed before any further proceedings were instituted, an interval which was employed by the commissioners and their myrmidons in hunting out witnesses, and selecting those whose evidence was best calculated to bring home charges of treason against persons imprisoned in the castles. This being done, Benjamin Bisson, on the 5th of June, under-

went a preliminary examination; on the 12th the other prisoners were similarly examined but remanded, after which the witnesses against them were questioned.

On the 14th and 28th of June a proclamation was made by the sheriff in the usual places of publication, and on the succeeding Sundays it was read after divine service in the various churches; the fugitives being then called for the third and last time to appear personally at the royal court on the ensuing 12th of July. The day having arrived, and the commissioners being in their places, the culprits, whose names are given in a former page, were severally evoked by the *denonciateur*, but none responded to the summons. In the course of the following days the sheriff and his subordinates went through the useless formality of serving a subpœna at each of the houses of the absentees, well assured beforehand of the return being "*non inventus.*"

Although few durst venture to openly oppose the arbitrary proceedings of the governor, who exacted the most obsequious submission from all men, and resented the slightest animadversion on his proposals, it is clear that there were many who secretly disapproved of his conduct; at length, however, one man more daring, or more indiscreet than the rest, spoke out boldly, and was persecuted accordingly. This man was La Cloche, formerly his friend and staunch supporter, the envoy who had paved the way for his return to Jersey. Disgusted with his perversion of the royal commission, with his privateering system, and more than all, perchance, annoyed at the persecution to which one of his own kith and kin was subjected, La Cloche from his pulpit declared that Jersey had become little better than a nest

of pirates, a second Dunkirk; that the administration of affairs in general was abominable; and that it was high time to petition his Majesty to relieve his loyal subjects of Jersey from the tyranny exercised over them by the present lieutenant-governor.

These remarks being reported to Captain Carteret, he about this time caused the offending rector to be apprehended and lodged in Elizabeth Castle; he then ordered the sheriff to invade his presbytery, and place seals upon his papers, and he himself examined them in the hope of finding some document which might enable him to cite the offender before the commissioners. There is little doubt that, had he been able to substantiate a charge, nothing could have rescued him from condemnation and execution. As it was, he caused him to be examined before the commissioners, when La Cloche boldly admitted, that after previously remonstrating with the governor, he had denounced him from the pulpit, but defied him to prove disloyalty against him, and demanded to be brought to fair and open trial. Captain Carteret failed in suborning his parishioners to give evidence against him, and therefore, unable to convert the offences confessed by him into a crime of sufficient magnitude, he was obliged to rest satisfied with placing his name on the proscribed list, and removing him from Elizabeth Castle to the state prison at Mont Orgueil. Here he ordered him to be strictly guarded, and denied him the use of pen and paper, lest he might find means of putting his threat in execution, that of writing to the king.

After a time, the governor, the commissioners, the king's *procureur* and other officials, visited his prison, and again cross-questioned him as if he had been a

common felon; but offered to release him if he would recant and submit to the payment of a fine. But the sturdy rector indignantly rejected any sort of compromise, and bitter recrimination passed between him and his former ally, which ended in his being consigned to closer custody; he was deprived of fire and candle, cut off from all intercourse with his friends, and denied all food except that which was tendered by the gaoler, or a soldier appointed for the purpose. His wife and friends applied alternately to the governor and the commissioners for his release, but in vain, each party shifting the responsibility the one upon the other, and nothing was done for eleven months, when he was finally deported into France.

On Saturday, the 19th of July, the Jersey star-chamber commenced business in earnest. The whole of their proceedings were carefully recorded by secretary Perret, and subsequently transcribed, not among the usual registers of the royal court, but in a separate book: this book, together with the journals of the states for that period, are no longer extant; it is conjectured that when the parliamentarians, after the reduction of the island, were again in the ascendant, they destroyed these records; at all events it is certain that they annulled the acts of the royal commissioners, again made Michael Lemprière bailiff, and restored the confiscated estates of their adherents.

Chevalier, however, had taken care to copy the proceedings of the commissioners before the destruction of their special journal; his manuscript, therefore, affords the only information at present in existence. Could the laborious penman have foreseen that his own transcripts were destined to replace the originals, he

could scarcely have been more circumstantial in his details.

The first two days of sitting, the Saturday of each week, were occupied exclusively in examining witnesses in the case of James Bandinel. It having been proved, not only by oral testimony, but by documents bearing his own signature, that he had aided the rebels in opposing Sir Philip Carteret, the king's representative; that he had raised forces for Major Lydcott, and that he had, in person, directed hostile operations against the castles; an impeachment was made out, and the commissioners ordered that he should be produced in court to take his trial for high treason, on the 26th of the month.

Intelligence as to the gravity of the charges brought against him having reached his ears, he fell into a state of great despondency which ended in severe indisposition, so that when the day of trial arrived, the commissioners were informed that he could not be removed from the castle. They, however, suspecting that the illness might be simulated in order to gain time, despatched the *vicomte* and two physicians, to Mont Orgueil, to ascertain his real condition. Their report confirmed the former statement, and they furthermore declared upon oath, that he was labouring under an attack of fever attended by delirium, which placed his life in immediate danger; the trial was accordingly postponed. Bandinel's illness at this juncture appears to have been most seasonable, and in all probability rescued him from public execution; as it appears that the governor had caused a gibbet, a halter, and a ladder to be prepared the moment he heard that he was ordered for trial.

The unfortunate rector of St. Mary's lingered on in so precarious a state, that it was impossible to proceed against him, when death put a stop to his sufferings and his persecutions. During the last months of his life, however, he was treated with more indulgence than before, being allowed various personal comforts, and the attendance of his wife and little son; but his mother was denied access to him, and died before him, of grief, as it is said, but probably from old age. Whether the refusal to admit his mother was a retaliation for the dean's conduct towards Sir Philip under similar circumstances, or a mere coincidence, it is now impossible to determine. Many no doubt, at that superstitious period, looked upon it as a judgment, a justifiable measure of retribution for his father's offences and his own.

The hatred of his persecutors does not seem to have been extinguished with his life. The commissioners instituted a *post mortem* trial for high treason, condemned him, and passed a posthumous sentence evidently intended to insure the legal confiscation of his goods. They declared the whole of his property and that of his father forfeited to the crown, and ejected his widow, his child, and his idiot brother from the patrimonial residence. Furthermore, says Chevalier, "*les commisaires honirent leur race*," and passed a public act stigmatising the Bandinels and their posterity as infamous, and unworthy to serve in any public capacity.

This vindictive denunciation was reversed by the parliamentarians after their expulsion of Sir George Carteret. In process of time political animosity died away, and the persecuted family resumed its former rank in society, producing members eminent alike for piety, loyalty, and learning.

The next victim of arbitrary power was Maximilian Messervey, a disreputable scion of a respectable family: connected by blood as well as marriage with the Carterets, and also related to the Rev. Mr. La Cloche. Some time before the breaking out of the troubles in Jersey, he and his brother[1] were convicted of clipping and counterfeiting coin; but the royal clemency had been extended to them through the intercession of their relative, Sir Philip Carteret. They quitted Jersey, and continued their malpractices for some time in London, for which they were confined in the gate-house; but when the parliamentary faction became dominant in the island they returned, and joined the rest in conspiring against their benefactor. On Lydcott's flight one of the brothers fled with him, but Maximilian remained, was arrested as a rebel ringleader by Captain Carteret, and together with another of the family, Philip Messervey, imprisoned at Mont Orgueil.

On Saturday, the 2d of August, Maximilian was brought before the commissioners for trial on the charge of rebellion against the king; and, as an aggravation of the crime, for having proposed to raise a thousand or twelve hundred men for carrying the castles by assault; and for having said, that if half of them were killed it was no great matter, provided the parliamentarians were victorious. In order to render assurance of condemnation doubly sure, the former crime of coining was revived, on the plea that he had persevered in uttering base money after he had been pardoned for the first offence.

[1] There is a long and curious account of the Messerveys, and their doings in Prynne's *Lyar Confounded*.

The charges having all been proved and the prisoner heard in his defence, the commissioners, without consulting the royal court, found him guilty of *leze majesté au plus haut degré*, and condemned him to death. The selfsame day he was taken to the place of execution with a halter round his neck, according to the custom of the island, and hanged upon the gibbet previously prepared for James Bandinel.

It seems strange, considering the obduracy with which political offenders were harassed, that this should have been the only instance in which capital punishment was inflicted. It is true the same fate may have been, and probably was, intended for those who escaped by natural death;—for La Cloche, could he have been brought within the pale of treason; and for the self-exiled leaders of the faction, had they been weak enough to return, trusting to the tender mercies of Captain Carteret. After Messervey's execution, however, the governor's chief motive in converting ordinary offences into treasonable practices, appears to have been the desire to confiscate property to his own uses, according to law.

The prisoners so long confined in Elizabeth Castle were then brought into court, and on their being required to state whether they were disposed to stand their trial according to legal forms, or make concessions, they very wisely adopted the latter alternative. But, weary of incarceration, and seeing that the sole object of their detention was to extort money, they petitioned for release, offering to ask pardon of God, the king, and the commissioners for past offences, and promising to behave better in future. They presented the petition,

according to prescribed form, on bended knee, and Dr. Vaughan on receiving it, replied, that his Majesty being graciously inclined to mercy, empowered him to grant their request on condition of their compounding for their already forfeited property, the value of which they were to declare upon oath. The declaration being made, the commissioners, after consulting the governor, imposed a fine of eight thousand *livres tournois*[1] on each, besides a further sum of fifty crowns to the seneschal, and ten crowns to the secretary, as fees of office. Half of the total amount was to be paid in a month, and the remainder within two months; for the fulfilment of which sufficient security was to be given.

The prisoners in the old Castle and elsewhere, finding that freedom had become a purchaseable luxury, resolved to obtain it, if possible, on the same conditions; and in their turn presented a petition which was received with similar formalities, and acceded to on the same terms. The commissioners, however, in order to render the ceremony of recantation more impressive, appointed a certain place and a certain day for its performance, at which the presence of all the repentant delinquents was required. The day was Sunday, and the place, the church of St. Heliers, where, after the sacrament had been administered, the oath of renunciation, and that of allegiance, were read and subscribed to; inkstands and other writing implements profanely intermingling with sacred vessels on the Communion Table.

The commissioners having disposed of this part of the

[1] According to the present relation between the *livre tournois*, and the pound sterling, we find that the sum in which each individual was mulcted, amounted to between four and five hundred pounds.

business profitably and satisfactorily, now found leisure for other pursuits, and a series of semi-comic performances succeeded to the tragedy recently enacted under their management. The chief object of these judicial burlettas was to obtain possession of the property of those whose persons were not within reach. Their estates, it is true, had long been in sequestration, and the governor had long appropriated the revenues arising from them; but this was not enough, the estates themselves must be alienated, but they must be alienated legally. Captain Carteret "would not play false, and yet would wrongly win." He, therefore, in order that no point of etiquette, however trifling, should be omitted, directed the sheriff to serve the representatives of the absentees each with a summons.

On the 4th of October, the day on which they were cited to appear, the *denonciateur* called Lemprière, Dumaresq, and ten more, well known to be safe in England or in Guernsey, to come into court; but like spirits evoked from the vasty deep, they came not when they were called. The commissioners, no way disconcerted, proceeded with undisturbed gravity to call witnesses in support of the prosecution. Dr. Vaughan, who spoke French more fluently than his two colleagues, examined and cross-examined the witnesses, keeping them strictly to the subject, and rebuking them sharply if they wandered; and this to their great perplexity and amazement. "*Jean Nicolas Vaughan*," says Chevalier, "*qui faisoit tout, ne manquoit pas d'esprit, et de subtilité, pour découvrir les fautes d'autrui.*" A similar opinion seems to have been entertained by Tom Wright, one of Sir Peter Osborne's agents then in Jersey.[1]

[1] Vide p. 259.

The charges against the absentee defendants being fully substantiated by oral as well as documentary evidence, and nothing being pleaded in extenuation, the commissioners unanimously pronounced them guilty, *par contumace;* condemned them to death wherever and whenever they might be apprehended; and in the meantime ordered them to be hung in effigy, not neglecting however to declare the whole of their property forfeited to the crown.

Every succeeding Saturday these mock trials were repeated; and on those days the commissioners who resided in Elizabeth Castle with the governor, and were subservient to him in all things, crossed over to the town for the purpose of conducting proceedings. On the 15th of the same month twelve of the alleged culprits were tried, and on the 22d twenty more, the remnant of those on the proscribed list. They were all condemned to be hung, supposing them silly enough to thrust their necks voluntarily into the noose, and their goods were confiscated; but the ceremony of hanging in effigy was dispensed with in their case, that honour being reserved for their betters, the committee men and other ringleaders.

In the meantime two wooden panels of sufficient size had been prepared; on one of which, effigies intended to represent Lemprière, Dumaresq and Herault, were painted; and on the other, those of the ten inferior rebels. These panels, with all due ceremonial were suspended by the hands of *l'executeur des hautes œuvres*, otherwise the common hangman, on a gibbet in the market-place close to the cage; the triumviri on one side,—the post of honour; the decemviri on the other. After being exposed to public gaze for a sufficient

period, the whole apparatus was planted on the town hill *in terrorem*, until it fell to pieces.

If this puerile exhibition, or rather exposition of impotent malice, was intended to strike terror into the hearts of the beholders, it signally failed in its effect. On the contrary, it excited much merriment among the spectators, especially among the women, many of them the wives of the victims, who jeeringly remarked *qu'ils etoient pendus au solcil, à la pluie, et au vent; mais que leurs maris ne manquoient pas pour tout cela à boire de bon vin.*

Chevalier, in the introduction to his Journal, gives a graphic delineation of the comet as it appeared in the sign Libra, in the month of November 1618, attributing to its baleful influence all the misfortunes which subsequently befel the British dominions.[1] It is therefore strange, and much to be lamented, that he neglected to preserve a fac-simile of the singular cartoon he describes; it would no doubt have proved a valuable specimen of the state of pictorial art in Jersey, *anno Domini* 1645. In consequence of this omission we are unable to decide on the merits of the portraits of the condemned rebels, done of necessity from memory or imagination by some untutored native Apelles.

In the course of the preceding spring and summer months, as we learn from the Osborne papers, the governor of Castle Cornet, being again in want and difficulty, sends Captain Darell, his second in command, to Jersey, to see what can be done towards obtaining

[1] He is not singular in his presages, for we read in Rushworth, that "not only all Europe to the elevation of fifty-two degrees, but especially England, was liable to the threatenings" of the self-same portentous comet.

supplies. Captain Carteret has of late sent over but few boats; some sharp messages having passed between him and Sir Peter, which have rendered him less cordial and more reckless; he is moreover too busily engaged in bringing his victims to trial to attend to the importunities of a person who has vexed him, even although the public service should suffer from his neglect.

Captain Nathaniel Darell, however, as Tom Wright informs Osborne, "taketh a greate dell of payne and care about all youer bissness heare to his abillitie and power; hee still pressinge the comissioners for youer healp and releaffe. The (they) bid him give in writeing to them his demands; the which hee hath donn, by the best advice hee could gett, which I hope will not be disspleysinge to you when you shall see the coppy of itt, the which hee will send you by the first. Neaver the lesse, you may write to them as you shall see good what youer pleasure is; for the comissioners aske Capt. Darell why you do not write to them, and say itt is youer dutie to write to them. Capt. Darell answeares them, that you know not of theare beeinge heare: nether can hee send you word, the passage is soe difficult yett, but soe soune as hee can hee will.

"This Dockter Nicolas (Vaughan) I thinke is a prowed hautie man and taketh much of him. I advice Capt. Darell to presse them of youer longe and much suffringe, and that itt is for the king's servis, and that the ought and must releive you. * * * *

"S[r] the next newes you shall heare will bee that Capt. Darell and I shall bee clapt by the heeles as I thinke, for the comitioners hath soe curbed and snubed Capt. Darell, as you shall understand by his letter hee will send you; the will teache him maners and make him

knowe himselfe, or els the will put him wheare the will make him knowe him self with many other things. * * *

"S^r Heare is one thinge that I have not yett acquinted youer Hon^er with all, neather knowe whether Capt. Darell hath or not: which is this: not longe since heare was som well affeckted men to you getting a collextion to bee gathered throughout every parish in the Island, what every man would freely give for the releaffe of Garnesey Castle, and for youer use; this it was gathered and given for the relieffe of Garnesey Castle, as many men hath tould mee since; som of the Ilelanders gave very freely, and the all gave sum thinge, the sum of which moneys beeinge all collected togeather amounted to the sum of three hundred pounds and upwards; as I have beein tould; S^r George haveinge gotten this monye into his hands sayeth it was given for the releffe of his Castles heare as I have hard.

"Wee dare not say any thinge nor take notisse of what the doe heare, for the have all the power in theare owne hands: and if we talke the thretten to put us in prisson; thesse comitioners are very grum, and yett but all younge men."

Sir Peter likewise sends one of his sons to the west for provisions, which another son procures through the mediation of Lord Jermyn. The supplies are put on board a ship at Dartmouth, which is so long detained there waiting for a convoy, that the Prince of Wales, under the impression that she has reached Jersey, and is detained there by Carteret, causes the following letter to be written to him:—

"Charles P.

"After o^r heartie commendations. Whereas wee are informed that provisions of severall kindes for y^e supply

of his ma^ties^ Castle of Garnesey were sent from these Westerne parts and landed att Jersey, where they still remain for want of some safe conveyance to y^e^ place for which they were intended. These are, therefore, to desire and require you to take some speedie course for y^e^ transporting y^e^ said provisions to y^e^ castle of Garnesey, and cause y^e^ same to bee delivered to S^r^ Peeter Osborne. And upon a returne to Us of y^r^ performance of this service, & of y^e^ charges thereof, Wee will cause y^e^ same to be duely and carefully repayed to you: And if you can give that Castle any other Assistance of Corne or other Victuall you will doe a verie acceptable Service to o^r^ Royall Father, and Wee shall take it as a testimonie of your affection and respect to Us. And soe Wee bidd you farewell. Given at our Court att Liscard y^e^ 21st day of July 1645.

"By his Highnes Command,

"Rob. Long."

"S^r^ Geo. Cartwright."

About the same time Sir Peter despatches his chaplain, Mr. Sheaffe, to Jersey, with a letter to the commissioners, from whose reply we infer that it contains complaints against Carteret for not attending to his wants, and a request that they would interfere in his behalf.

"The Royal Commissioners in Jersey to Sir Peter Osborne.

"Sr.

"By Mr. Sheafe wee receaved a letter from you bearing date the first of this present, whereunto wee thinke fitt to returne you this answeare, That had

our Comission extended to Guernesey, wee would, long ere this, have acquainted you therew^th^, and can onely tell you at present that wee find no lesse inclynation in S^r^ George Carteret to relieve you (wherin he hath succeeded hitherto beyond all expectãon, considering now the whole burthen of this Isle lay upon him) then he hath alwayes shewed, which we shall be ready to cherish in him, and to approve ourselves upon all occasions

"Sir

"Your very humble servants

"JOHN POLEY,

"JOHN NICHOLAS VAUGHAN,

"HEN. JANSON."[1]

"Jersey the 15th of August, 1645."

Meanwhile "the governor's galley" is sent from Jersey with supplies, and Sir Peter in acknowledging her safe arrival at Castle Cornet, gives his honourable friends, the commissioners, to understand, that "this small relief brought by Captain Bowden (whose good service hath found a good success, thanks be to God) is yet far from a supply, if the next darke moone a better increase be not made and joyned to it." In compliance with this hint, three boats laden with supplies are sent from Jersey; one of them reaches the needy castle, the second is chased into Normandy by the enemy, and the third is compelled to put back through bad weather and contrary wind; and no others can venture forth for some time in consequence of the arrival of seven parliament ships, which anchor on the bank off Castle Cornet, occasionally cruising round Jersey, and thus blocking up its harbours.

[1] Osborne Papers.

Mr. Sheaf, after his interview with the commissioners, proceeds on the 14th of August, with fair weather and a good wind, to Dartmouth, where he meets John Osborne, whom he accompanies to the Prince of Wales' head quarters at Exeter. The purport of their mission and its success are best explained in a letter written by his highness to Sir Peter, which we therefore annex :—

"Charles P.

"After o^r^ hearty comendacons, We have received from yo^r^ Sonne and from Mr Sheafe (the later haveing come lately from you) the state of that castle und^r^ yo^r^ comaund, and wherein you have endured so long a seige, together with a note of such neccessaryes as must be speedily supplied unto it, into y^e^ consideracon whereof wee have already entered and shall take y^e^ same into o^r^ further and more speciall care when we come into Cornwall whether we are goeing tomorrow, and will there cause to be provided and sent to you from thence with all possible speed the Cloathes and Victualls for y^e^ souldiers, with the rest of y^e^ things desired. So, nothing doubting of yo^r^ continued Care and Courage in preserving that place for his ma^ty^, which service we shall not forget, We bid you heartily Farewell. Given at our Court at Exeter the 15 of September 1645.

By his Highnesse Comand in Councell
RIC FFANSHAWE."

"Sir Peter Osburne .
Govern^r^ of Garnesey" [1]

John Osborne attends the prince to Launceston, where my lords Culpepper and Hopton press the council for the required relief; the chancellor protests that there

[1] Osborne Papers.

is no money left the Prince, but that the first he receives shall be employed in that service. Captain Wake,[1] however, who is there, says he cannot have his shipping ready for these two months, and Mr. Sheaf returns to Dartmouth, not having been able to obtain as much as ten pounds, to bear his charges, from Mr. Chancellor's secretary.

Castle Cornet in the meantime is in a state of mutiny, its garrison having signed and transmitted a round robin to Captain Carteret for the removal of their present governor: whose condition will be best understood from his own letter to the king's commissioners in Jersey.[2]

"Noble gentlemen, and my hon. friends

"I present you w^th^ most humble thanks for what you have allready so carefully done, and w^h^ you have beene pleased to oblige yourselves unto for y^e^ time hereafter. But I beseech you with all to consider whether our state can abide long delayes that it may not languish under promises; your solicitation of y^e^ Lieut Gov^r^ (of Jersey) is principally needfull, this place depending immediately upon his hand and will, who hath it in his power to expose us to hazard, whereby if misfortune befall us, some blame may peradventure happen to reflect upon those that may not be faulty neither.

"Whereas you have been led to understand that we are furnished w^th^ armes more than our present use requires; the truth is that our store is no more than enough, having no smith able to mend those out of order by Casualty, and negligence of souldiers, nor stockes to supply when any are broken. I beseech you therefore to excuse me if I dare not part with

[1] Baldwin Wake, of whom more hereafter. [2] Osborne Papers.

any after so much waste, and whilst we remaine in y^e^ same dangers, though most desirous to gratify you therein. I could spare you a few corslets, if they may do you service. But our pikes are too heavy, usefull upon a wall only, and we may have employment for them ourselves.

"And now I pray you give me leave for his Ma^ties^ service to add a few lines, briefly to complaine my selfe w^th^ out your offence. The power and extent of your Comision, understood amiss by my Company, hath produced dangerous effects, hastened them in much disobedience, possessed w^th^ an opinion that you have authority to comand and dispose of this place, and of me as you please. By your Letter you seeme to assure no such thing, but to disclaime it rather. I therefore intreate you to declare yourselves in that particular to my Souldiers there, that unawares you be not made authors of y^e^ mischeife that may chance to come upon it.

"Disorders in some of them are growne so high that, guilt being never voide of feare, they have framed articles agayinst me, addressed as I heare to S^t^ George and to you, seeking their security in y^e^ change of their Comander; which as I am likewise informed, are both received, and sent to England. My case is most hard after such trialls and proofes of my truth w^th^ out all exception, that souldiers and meane persons should be heard against me their governour, of whom should be allway presumed y^e^ best, and my accusers at least w^th^ sharpness rebuked, if not punished. It is not possible in so long and hard extremities of a three years seige to keepe men w^th^ out discontents, that have neither clothes nor pay, nor meate; drincking water w^th^

but one meale a day, I wanting meanes to give them better allowance, and to make our provisions last the longer to hould out this place. What they have endured I could not remedy, and have my-selfe suffered y^e^ same as well as they, and beyond y^e^ example of any during there troubles w^ch^ I may the rather presume to say, that I speak it out of miseries, and to justify my actions onely and not to boast. But I have the innocence y^t^ gives me peace and assurance to despise these Calumnies, having my confidence placed in God, and y^e^ king, whom I have truly served w^th^ out consideration of y^e^ ruine of my selfe, my wife, my children, and my house; of whose Princely goodness I nothing doubt, nor he (I hope) of my integrity. Put upon y^e^ necessitie of his Ma^ties^ service to write you this, let it not, I beseech you, increase or bring me into displeasure w^th^ you, or diminish your care of y^e^ safe transportation of our releife, nor retard yo^r^ despatch. The specious pretences of my accusers to continue in their duty to the king are not to be believed, disprooved w^th^ their demeanour towards me, by his Ma^ties^ authority in comand over them. For my desyres be pleased to permit that I refer you to Captain Darrells who hath my order to wayte on you w^th^ my important requests; and accept I pray y^e^ tender of my humble service most respectfully presented by, your most humble servant

"PETER OSBORNE."

"Castle Cornet, Octob. y^e^ 30th, 1645."

Chevalier again comes to our aid most opportunely; confirming all that has been said about Mr. Sheaf's proceedings, and John Osborne's, and telling us that on the 29th of October the chaplain of Castle Cornet arrived from England, in a barque containing all manner of

necessaries for Sir Peter Osborne's soldiers. The miscellaneous cargo consists of several large packages of ready-made clothes, stockings and shoes, even to silken *aiguillettes* (points) to attach the *haut de chausses* to the doublets. Bales of cloth, buttons and thread, linings and trimmings, so that each man who could not find clothes to fit him might be furnished with nine yards of cloth to make him a complete suit—doublet and breeches. Besides these there were hats in abundance, as well as linen for shirts and bed sheets. For the inner-man there was store of provision; for instance, barrels of beef and butter; cheeses and beer; a butt of Spanish wine and other refreshments.

Mr. Sheaf, after he had superintended the landing of the cargo, embarked on board a boat of a couple of tons for Castle Cornet, being anxious to announce to Sir Peter the safe arrival of supplies, and to deliver the despatches of which he was the bearer from his Majesty and the Prince of Wales. But, he being detained in Jersey by contrary winds, Sir Peter's shallop came thither in the meantime, bringing intelligence that all was well in the castle, the garrison of which was not yet reduced to extremity for want of victuals. Captain Carteret nevertheless set about freighting boats and loading them with the discharged cargo, adding, besides, Spanish wine, a hogshead of claret, some brandy, barrels of biscuit, some bacon, tobacco and other articles from his own magazine. Boat after boat was sent thus laden to Castle Cornet, until all the provisions procured by Sir Peter's son were transmitted; and they all reached their destination in safety, the parliament ships being now off the station.

The commissioners having by this time disposed of the whole of the prisoners and outlaws, proceeded to

take measures for putting the governor in legal possession of the spoils he had so long coveted. In virtue of the power delegated to them by his Majesty, they appointed a number of assessors, two in each parish, to ascertain, by fair means or foul, the nature and amount of the property, real as well as personal—*meubles et immeubles, heritages, rentes, contrats, cédules, obligations, et autres droits appartenants à tous ceux accusés et convaincus du détestable crime de leze-majesté.* These assessors, the constables, and other parochial officers, were ordered to bring into court all persons likely to afford information, and were themselves empowered to examine upon oath whomsoever they chose.

During the progress of this inquisition, surveyors of estates and appraisers of personal property were duly sworn to ascertain the extent of the one and the value of the other. Those who were indebted to the offenders, and those into whose hands arrears of rents and other debentures had been already sequestered, were required to pay the amount to accredited agents of the state—the sheriff or his officers; whilst their creditors were ordered to put forward their demands subject to a statute of limitation, calculated to reduce them to a minimum, and leave a large unclaimed dividend reverting to the governor. At the same time those who claimed indemnification for losses sustained from the parliamentarians were directed to give in an estimate of damages, in order that the governor might declare a dividend out of the produce of the confiscations.

As soon as the forfeited estates were valued, public notices were issued that they were to be let on short leases, altogether or in lots, for cultivation or for pasture; and certain days were appointed for receiving tenders, the highest bidder to be the lessee. The demand not

being equal to the supply, many of the estates remained on hand: but the governor found means to turn them to account, by cutting down timber for repairs in the castle; storing the crops of hay, corn, peas and beans in his granaries, and turning out his horses and cattle, and those of his adherents, to graze in the luxuriant meadows. The estates were turned to still greater profit, as we shall see, when the time arrives for liquidating the forced loan raised the year preceding.

The month of December being come, with its short, boisterous days, and long, stormy nights, the governor, as usual at this season, disbanded a large portion of his militia, there being no longer any fear of a foreign enemy till the return of spring. But more formidable, because domestic, foes assailed him even in his stronghold; and, more potent than the parliamentarians, forced him and his household, together with his guests, the commissioners, to evacuate Elizabeth Castle without beat of drum. The victorious army that achieved this daring exploit proved to be a colony of rats, originally introduced with the corn imported from abroad, during the threatened famine. They had gone on increasing and multiplying to such an extent, that at last the castle was as much overrun as the palace of the king and queen of the Barbary coast with mice; and, there being no friendly Whittington at hand, the governor was forced to seek refuge in the town of St. Helier's, until the diminutive adversaries had been so far exterminated as to render the seat of government again tenable.

In despite of the rats, however, the castle granaries, and indeed the whole island, were well supplied with corn; for, ever since the scarcity, Captain Carteret had taken care to import it regularly from Brittany, so that

there was great abundance in Jersey towards the close of the year. Had he trusted entirely to the proceeds of the insular harvests, wheat and barley, which were now sold at twenty-four and twenty-five *sous* per *cabot*, would have fetched double that price. *Mais Dieu*, piously observes Chevalier, *employa sa bénédiction sur nous quoi que nous en fussions indignes.* Great quantities of wool, the exportation of which had long been interdicted by the parliamentarians, also arrived from the west of England and from Ireland, these portions of his Majesty's dominions being as yet beyond the control of the rebels. The importation of wool was of the greatest consequence to Jersey,—the staple, indeed the only manufacture, being knitted fabrics, so excellent and so much valued throughout the Continent, as always to command a high price and a ready sale. The poor peasantry depended on this trade for subsistence,—the women spinning with the distaff, and in common with the men knitting as they tended their sheep on the hillside or walked to market; a scarcity therefore of raw material seriously affected these "spinners and knitters in the sun."

1646.

We now enter upon a new year, wherein the affairs of Jersey associate themselves more closely with those of the mother country, in consequence of the island being regarded as an eligible asylum for the Prince of Wales, whose safety required that he should seek an abode beyond the immediate verge of the kingdom. It is highly probable that Sir Edward Hyde, and other members of his Highness's council who objected to his going into France, had previously applied to Captain

Carteret for information respecting the capabilities and resources of the only independent and secure retreat within the pale of his Majesty's now circumscribed dominions; and not at all impossible that Carteret himself may have suggested the idea to the Chancellor.[1]

At all events we find that the lieutenant-governor of Jersey about this time sends a special envoy to the west, with despatches for the King and the Prince of Wales, and instructions to obtain audience from one or both of these royal personages. The envoy selected is Henry Janson, the junior commissioner, who embarks with another English gentleman on board a small shallop. They set sail on Christmas-day, 1645; but "off the coast of England encounter tremendous storms of thunder and lightning, which might have been disregarded but for the mysterious appearance of balls of fire playing about the topmast and yard-arms of the vessel, at frequent intervals" during the watches of the night. The home-bred sailors, and their captain, ignorant of the nature of *Querpos Santos*, or St. Ulmo's fire, become so terrified, that they put back, and return to Jersey the following day, filled with superstitious awe. On the 3d of January, the weather having moderated, Janson again puts out to sea in the same shallop; and the next morning, without further alarm or impediment, enters the port of Falmouth, where we must leave him for the present.

On the 15th of the same month, Mr. Sheaff came to Jersey, to apprise Captain Carteret of Sir Peter's having again been summoned by the Earl of Warwick, and to inform him that the bearer of the summons

[1] We have reason to believe that there are letters in existence calculated to throw much light on these transactions.

was Charles Marret, of Jersey, who, for taking up arms against his Majesty, and for acting as king's receiver under Major Lydcott, had been adjudged to death by the Royal Commissioners. Marret, on coming to Guernsey, re-embarking from thence in a little boat, bearing a white flag, waited midway between the town and Castle Cornet, until Sir Peter sent one of his officers to learn his errand. Marret treated the crew of the royalist boat to wine, having provided himself with a bottle of claret and a bottle of Spanish for that purpose; and, after the health of the king and of the parliament had been drunk, the officer took charge of the despatches, and returned to deliver them to Sir Peter. The castle people, not to be behindhand in hospitality, and anxious to persuade the parliamentarians that they were not badly off, and had abundance of wine as good as theirs, re-filled the empty bottles, and rejoined the bearers of the flag of truce, whom they regaled in turn with Spanish wine and claret, each party pledging the other with much apparent cordiality. It must be confessed, notwithstanding this bravado, that had the fortress been vigorously assaulted at this juncture, it must have yielded; for, besides wanting provisions, many of the garrison were sick, and the rest, too anxious for emancipation on any terms, would have offered but feeble resistance.

In the meantime, the brave old commandant, after a careful perusal of Lord Warwick's summons,[1] assembled his captains and other officers in a council of war, and submitted to them the proposals sent to him, which ran thus: on condition of his delivering the keys and surrendering the castle to Major Russel, parliamentary governor of Guernsey, and forthwith proceeding to London,

[1] Osborne Papers.

the committee of both kingdoms promised to do their best to save his estates, and restore his place in the exchequer; and that if the fortress was given up within a fortnight, they engaged that all the officers and soldiers of the garrison should receive their arrears of pay, and free pardon for past offences.

These conditions having been maturely considered by the council of war, Sir Peter imparted them to the whole of the garrison, requesting soldiers as well as officers, to declare whether they were willing to support him or not in maintaining the place to the last. The majority expressed their determination, with loud acclamations, to stand by him and expend their last drop of blood in his service and the king's; in which declaration the few soldiers who had been tempted to the contrary were forced, however unwillingly, to join. Sir Peter in consequence wrote to Lord Warwick, announcing his resolution to stand firm and bide the brunt. This dispatch was entrusted to Charles Marret, and a copy sent by Mr. Sheaf to Captain Carteret, together with the subjoined letter, and a verbal request, that he would victual Castle Cornet for a year, and that he would send back two of his gunners who were then in Jersey on a visit to their wives; and also a reinforcement of fresh soldiers:—

"Sir Peter Osborne to Captain George Carteret.[1]

"S^r^,

"Hearing not from you this dark mone, [which I much wonder at] so well understanding our desperate condition, I am forced with our great hassard to send

[1] Osborne Papers.

away to you this shalupe and men, the better to aquainte you with our present state. The next day after that I dispatched hence yo^r great boate, a letter dated the 31° of the last moneth was brought me from the Erle of Warwicke, signifying that he had receaued liberty and authority from the comitteye of both kingdoms to treate with me for giving up this castle w^th assurance of restitution of my losses, and leave to make such óther propositions I shall thinke meete to require, advysing me in tyme to prevent the danger of a deniall. His servant that came with this with much ernestnes desired to have spoken w^th me, which I refused to admit.

"I have these three years [in a continuall extremity of sufferings] maintained this place [fed but fro hand to mouth lyke a bird, and kept in perpetuall agonies and feares, left still to the last extremetyes] no man better knowes than yourself [that can onely give the reason why I was so dealt with, though divers could tell me I was to expect no other manner of supply]. But in that course of supply my stores being now in all kindes exhausted, and I disabled longer to subsist [for my owne discharge] am driven to communicate my dangers with you, lyke to be lost for want of succour and assistance, who, were I supported by you or your Island [whose safety as y^e case stands depends much upon myne] should still by the grace of God with the same fidelity and resolution, according to my loyall hart hold out in his ma^ties right against whome soe ever. [It shall be your fault and not myne if for want of supply it come into other hands.]

"No man can do more in my case [peradventure none would have done so much]. I have deferred to make my answere till I could give you this advertisement, and

heare fro you, and beseech you therefore to avoyde delayes, for I am not master of my owne tyme that can not put off my pressing necessityes, nor my answere longer that I must at last give. We have reason to expect forthwith many ships to ly heare upon us, and some attempts made by assault, the fellow that last ran away being returned in these vessells, though no seaman, nor even imployde in that service.

"Your Island, in respect of the little distance, is most apt for our succour, and most concerned in our perill, wherefore I hope and humbly request you that you will not be slowe to performe that for us in this our extremity, which I should be most ready, and have thought myself bound to do with out entreaty if the case had beene yours or any one's els standing for the king, for I do not pretend any right to solicit you but as the business onely concernes his m^tie^ the king in the securitie of this Castle, whose importance sheweth it self to places so far remote. But I forbeare to say more, and leave the rest to Mr. Sheafe's relation whome I have purposely sent to informe you in all particulars. Upon our first tryall we thought our coles had been of the worst kynd of those of Sunderland, but we now finde them of a middle sort, that will burn with out wood which I much doubted, and writ what I did out of that apprehension, far fro the mynde to complaine with out cause."[1]

Captain Carteret, thus appealed to, and convinced of the necessity of attending to the demand, at once freighted several boats, which left Jersey on the 25th of January. In another boat, sent away eight or nine days

[1] The following note is appended by the copyist: "the original, in the handwriting of Sir Peter Osborne, is a rough draft full of interlineations and erasures. The passages between brackets are underlined, and were probably omitted in the fair copy."

after, Monsieur de Sasmarez[1] of Guernsey, who happened to be in Jersey when Sir Peter was summoned, returned to assist him with his counsels. These boats reached the castle, returning in safety on the 8th of February, and on the 12th of that month two more were sent with provisions from St. John's, carrying over soldiers as well.

Contrary to expectation, the castle was not attacked by the parliament fleet, and Sir Peter remained for some time totally unmolested, receiving supplies with great regularity from his Jersey ally. The boats were now allowed to land their cargoes without interruption, for there was only one small preventive frigate of six guns anchored on the bank, which could readily be kept in check; and the Guernseymen no longer plied their guns, fearful of provoking him to make reprisals. The inhabitants of the hostile town had repaired the damage inflicted by his frequent cannonading, and returned to their dwellings; having been taught a lesson of forbearance by the expense and annoyance to which they had been subjected the preceding summer. During this temporary cessation Sir Peter had leisure to smoke his pipe in peace, being furnished at this particular juncture with excellent materials from Jersey. "Sir,"[2] writes his honest but illiterate correspondent, "our frend heare psents his humble servis to you, and hath a little parcel of speciall tobacco, and a dozen of pipes."

Captain Carteret, in consequence of the expenses entailed upon him by the importunities of the governor of

[1] An exiled royalist, much respected by the King and the Prince of Wales, both of whom occasionally wrote to him. He divided his time between Castle Cornet and Jersey, and was the mutual friend of the two governors, between whom he constantly mediated.

Guernsey castle, found it necessary to keep his privateers constantly on the cruise, and his sheriff's officers continually employed in distraining the forfeited estates. But these measures being insufficient to supply his wants, he adopted another financial scheme, ingeniously contrived to bear upon his enemies, whilst it spared the purses of his friends.

It so happened that, during Lydcott's administration, many of the parishes, some from constraint, others through zeal, had assisted the besiegers with their field guns for the purpose of preventing sorties from the old castle. Many of these guns had been taken by the garrison at the raising of the siege, and the rest, being attaint of treason, were declared by Carteret to be forfeited to the uses of his Majesty's fortifications. He, furthermore exacted a fine from the delinquent parishioners, for the purchase of new ordnance, and also as a deodand, not only on each captured gun, but on those which he had confiscated. By this means he acquired an additional supply of ordnance free of outlay, and also a considerable amount in money, the payment of which fell exclusively on the parliamentary adherents; the royalists refusing to contribute, on the plea of having had no hand in perverting the guns to improper uses; which plea was readily admitted by the governor.

Captain Carteret, it must be owned, proved himself an able financier, not over scrupulous, it is true, but he could scarcely afford to be otherwise, with so many demands upon an exchequer, the supply of which depended entirely on his own individual exertions. A claim of an unexpected and urgent nature had recently been made upon his bounty by some natives of Jersey

captured by the Algerines, and forced to tug at the oar as galley-slaves. He accordingly sent John Le Couteur, one of the *denonciateurs*, to Marseilles, furnished with a sum sufficient for the redemption of the whole of the captives. Le Couteur, on coming to Marseilles, expended part of the money in ransoming the Jersey-men he found there; but, others being at sea in the galleys, he employed the balance in redeeming a number of English captives in their stead. His unfortunate countrymen coming in soon after from a forced cruise, instead of obtaining the freedom they had expected at his hands, found themselves condemned to slavery for an indefinite period.

Those who had been released, pitying their sad condition, borrowed money on their own security from Mr. White, an English merchant, and purchasing their liberty, the whole party hastened homewards together. Mr. White followed soon after, and came to Jersey about the beginning of February to obtain repayment of the sums he had so generously advanced. He applied in the first instance to the governor, who, being already out of pocket by the transaction, referred him to the persons who had given security, and with the sanction of the royal court, obliged them to dispose of their property in payment of the debt. But as some of them were too poor to make up the whole amount, Mr. White was recommended to obtain the deficit from the English captives who had been ransomed by Jersey money, and soon quitted the island for this purpose.

The royalists, who had been ordered to put in their claims for indemnification, now appeared as clamorous creditors; the time approaching, likewise, for the extinction of the forced loan contracted the preceding year.

In order to meet these demands, the governor assembled the states, who approved of his proposal to compound with his creditors. He offered them in present payment, portions of the confiscated estates and wheat rents, in lieu of money, at the same time giving them the option of refusing; in which case he told them they must wait for a return to cash payments until the funds at his disposal on his Majesty's account were in a more flourishing condition.

Many of the claimants, deeming the latter alternative equivalent to non-payment, accepted the former; others, aware of the precarious tenure of property so acquired, and having faith in the settlement of the king's affairs, determined to wait, hoping sooner or later to be repaid. But there were others, more sagacious or more patriotic, who refused to profit by the misfortunes of their countrymen, and, making a virtue of necessity, declared that their contributions to the necessities of the state might be considered in the light of free gifts. This high-spirited sacrifice was graciously accepted by the governor and the commissioners; who, taking off their hats, thanked the generous creditors with low obeisances, somewhat equivocal in character. It is to be remarked that those who preferred the forfeited property suffered for their greedy precipitancy, for when the parliamentarians regained the ascendancy, they were deprived of their ill-gotten gains, without compensation or ceremony; the property being either restored to the right owners, or bestowed in rewarding other adherents. Whatever losses others may have suffered, it is plain that the governor managed to balance accounts in a manner highly advantageous to himself.

About this time, the middle of February, Henry

Janson returned from his mission to the west. On landing at Falmouth, as we have seen, he attempted to make his way to the king, then at Oxford negotiating for peace with the "mungrel parliament," and the Scotch commissioners. But the intervening country being in possession of the rebels, a pass for such an emissary as Janson was not to be obtained; he therefore, abandoning all hope of reaching the royal presence, contented himself with obtaining an interview with the Prince of Wales, to whom he delivered his despatches. His highness soon after charged him with two letters, one addressed to Carteret, the other for the states; and ordered that thirteen superb war horses should be put on board the barque, as a present to his trusty and well-beloved governor of Jersey.

This noble gift, no less acceptable to the receiver, than convenient to the donor (forage being scarce at this time in Cornwall), and the letters which accompanied it, appear like the foreshadowing of coming events. The contents of the despatches, however, were not allowed to reach the public ear until another month had elapsed, and even then only partially transpired as we shall see. Nevertheless, a day or two after their arrival, Captain Carteret, using the pulpit, according to his wont, as "drum ecclesiastic," issued orders throughout the several parishes for the militia to clean and repair their arms, and keep them in serviceable order; and it was directed that each musketeer should be provided with five pounds of powder, four pounds of match and sixty bullets. The *chefs de famille*, or heads of houses, were required to assemble in the town church on the following Wednesday, as the lieutenant-governor

had something of importance to communicate to them after the prayers. The *vingteniers*[1] from the various parishes were summoned at the same time to give in returns as to the number of men fit for service.

When Wednesday came the lists were examined, and a squadron of dragoons was speedily organized. The governor set the example by furnishing ten horsemen; Colonel Carteret, six; the seigneur of Trinity, four; the rest of the landed gentry contributing men, money, or horses, according to the value of their estates, or their pecuniary means. This troop, amounting to about one hundred and fifty men, when fully armed and equipped, were ordered to hold themselves in readiness for boot and saddle at a moment's notice; in order to ride at full speed to any point on the coast threatened by a hostile landing, and to keep the enemy in check, until the infantry and artillery had time to come up.

In little more than a month, when a general review of the militia took place, these bold dragoons made a grand display, charging with great effect, while the foot and artillery went through their manœuvres, to the great edification of some English cavaliers recently arrived, and the entire satisfaction of the commander-in-chief, who complimented the troops on their "soldier-like appearance," or words to that effect.

The militia had improved so much in discipline and in the use of arms, under the training of British officers, that they now formed a very effective body, fit for any kind of duty. Captain Carteret, therefore, soon found himself in a position to dispense with the services of a portion of the subsidiary troops, whose pay and main-

[1] The captains of twenty tythings, one of whose duties it was, to warn their men for military service.

tenance formed a heavy item in his expenditure. He disbanded the French soldiers, retaining only a sufficient number of English and Irish to perform garrison duty in the castles. He also proposed to reduce the pay of two of his captains, Lawrence and Tally, from two thousand to one thousand *francs* each per annum. These two officers, who had served the king faithfully ever since their secession from Lydcott, were so indignant at the prospect of being reduced, that they resigned. Tally soon after took his passport and retired to France; Lawrence remained in Jersey, where he died in about a twelvemonth.

A similar economical proposal was made to Captain Legge, who, as we have seen, served Sir Philip Carteret so faithfully, and rendered such important services to his lady in the defence of Mont Orgueil; who moreover assisted Captain Carteret on his arrival, and subsequently aided him in organizing his militia. Legge, feeling himself much aggrieved, reproached the governor with his ungrateful conduct; but he, no longer standing in need of his services, treated him with haughty indifference. High words passed between them, and Legge quitted the island in disgust; what became of him afterwards is uncertain. It is evident that the captain was brother to "honest Will Legge," Prince Rupert's friend, and also to Major Robert Legge, wounded at Lichfield, and at this period governor of Evesham. He was in all probability the Colonel John Legge, whose daughter married Nathaniel Darell, of Calehill, governor of Sheerness and Landguard Fort, after the Restoration.[1]

[1] See Burke's "Landed Gentry." Sir Peter Osborne, writing to Amias Andros in September, 1644, says: "present my service I pray to my

On the 5th of March, the lieutenant-governor assembled the states in order to read a letter addressed to them by the Prince of Wales; but the private despatch, brought over by Janson, was not communicated to them.

" Charles Prince,

" After our hearty commendations.—We have received full information touching the past and present state of the island of Jersey;—how, by the blessing of God, the prudence and zeal of Sir George Carteret, knight, and by your own faithful services, the said island has been recovered from the power of the inhuman rebels, and restored to its ancient laws and customs.

" Seeing that you not only continue firm in your affections towards his Majesty, but daily manifest increased zeal in the service of our Royal father, we deem it right and proper to assure you of our gracious approbation as to your past conduct, and exhort you to

unknowne frend Captain Leg, whom I cannot but love for his brother's sake, whose goodness he hath as well as his bloude, but I have a particular obligation to him for his respect to my wife, and the honour of his remembrance to me." John Osborne, the following month, writes to his father thus: "Captain Legg remembers his humble service to you, and prays me to tell you, though he would not have it knowne, that within this month he intends to goe for England along w^th^ Captain Bowden in y^e^ Catch, and y^t^ he shall be very faithfull in any thing you shall please to comand him. Whearefore S^r^ I thinke it would not be amisse to write him two or three words. For he may be able to doe you some service. And I will assure you S^r^ he is extraordinary hearty in any thing concernes you. He had ordained a very good hogshead of beere for you, and spoke to the Seigneur (Andros) to take it a long w^th^ him. But he, not able to putt more in his boate it seemes, told the brewer he might draw it out w^ch^ was done when I came." A subsequent letter announces that "a barrel of beere, a barrel of roasting beefe, and a Holland cheese," acceptable offerings, were shortly forthcoming.—*Osborne Papers.*

persevere in your good behaviour to the end, and this we earnestly desire, without doubting your readiness to do so.—We particularly request you, as you have hitherto done, to assist Sir George Carteret, knight, in whatever measures he may deem it expedient to adopt for the service of his Majesty, for your own particular welfare and the security of the island.—Having already proved yourselves loyal and faithful subjects, you may have the happiness either by your valour to overcome your still rebellious neighbours, or by your example to recall not only them to their allegiance but also others in various parts of his Majesty's dominions.—And in order that you and every other faithful subject in the island may be encouraged in the cheerful performance of your duty, we hereby promise to afford you all support and assistance in our power towards increasing the welfare of the said island; and so we bid you heartily farewell. Given at our court at Launceston the 31st of January 1646.

"By his Highness' command in Council,

"RICHARD FANSHAWE."[1]

"To the Bayly and States of
the Island of Jersey."

The states, after the reading of the letter, directed that it should be published throughout the island in the parish churches;—they then unanimously voted an address of thanks to the Prince, expressive of their gratitude for his gracious solicitude and condescension. The governor, considering that a further attestation of loyalty would be acceptable in high quarters, now proposed that an act of fealty should be drawn up and

[1] Re-translated from Chevalier's version.

signed, in the first instance, by the members of the local government, and then by the community at large.

A very elaborate and diffuse document, given at length in the chronicle, was accordingly prepared, expressive of attachment and devotion to the king and the protestant religion; accompanied by a solemn declaration of the intention of his loyal subjects to preserve the island, at all hazards, in subjection to his Majesty. This "*manifeste*," as it is entitled, was subscribed to on the 18th of March by every male inhabitant capable of holding a pen, and is evidently the actual document alluded to in the following passage from Clarendon's History of the Rebellion:—

"You shall humbly acquaint her Majesty, that We have great reason to believe this island, to be defensible against a greater force, than We suppose probable to be brought against it. That the inhabitants of the Island express as much chearfulness, unanimity and resolution, for the defence of our person by their whole carriage, and particularly by a PROTESTATION voluntarily undertaken by them, as can be desired."[1]

It now began to be whispered abroad that the mysterious private despatch, of which Janson had been the bearer, was neither more nor less than a patent from Charles I. conferring knighthood on Captain Carteret, for his distinguished services against the Turks, as it was alleged, but much more likely for his zealous support of the royal cause in the recovering and maintaining Jersey. Although the governor, for some time past, had been alluded to in various letters, and, not unfrequently, addressed as Sir George Carteret, he with unaccountable humility concealed the title until the

[1] Fol. vol. iii. p. 6.

secret was divulged in Prince Charles' address to the States. From this time forth Chevalier invariably writes him down Sir George, and we may as well follow his example.

On the 11th day of March a couple of English knights, and an esquire, arrived in Jersey; namely, Sir Thomas (afterwards Lord) Fanshawe, his cousin, Fanshawe of Jenkins, and Sir Thomas Dayrell.[1] These royalist gentle-

[1] Sir Thomas Dayrell, as Chevalier tells us, had served in the Prince's army in the west, but, having been plundered of his property by the rebels, who had likewise confiscated his estates, he was not over rich when he accompanied his more opulent friends (the Fanshawes) to Jersey. During Sir Thomas Fanshawe's mission to Castle Cornet, early in April, Dayrell took passage for the coast of Normandy, intending to join the queen's court at St. Germains. The following letter from the Clarendon papers, although belonging to a later period, may conveniently be inserted here:—

"Sir Edward Hyde to Sir Thomas Dayrell.

"Jersey the 2nd of Jan: 1647.

"DEAR SIR

"If our good governor (Carteret) had not assured me that you were at Paris, I had only known that you were very kind to me by yours of the 31st of October (1646), but could not have found a way to have returned you my thanks and let you know the great sense and value I have of your friendship. Dick Fanshawe met with you at his being at Paris;—I presume he made my excuses to you for not answering your former letter, upon our first arrival in this island; and it was my extreme care not to disserve you, that made me not passionate in your service.

"Well Sir, notwithstanding these present clouds, the persecution of our enemies, who have no reason to wish us well, and the neglect of some of our friends from whom we have deserved better, you and I shall meet again in England with as much jollity, though I believe hardly the same, as when we first made our friendship. Therefore preserve your excellent spirits from dejection, or melancholy, and when the noise of French cities grows unpleasant, you know a little island not ill situated for retirement; where no faction, or emulation will grow; and,—which is no contemptible conveniency,—where an old cloak will make a very handsome suit. I pray you to remember me to Sir Edward Walker, and continue your kindness to, Sir, yours, &c.,

"EDW HYDE."

men, not having been trained in warlike pursuits, retired into Cornwall with their families, when the strife began in earnest. But finding that danger pursued them even in this remote district, they embarked at Falmouth and landed at Morlaix in Brittany. Leaving their wives and children in that town, they retrograded to Granville, and from thence took shipping for Jersey. They were attended by a number of servants, and brought over with them chests and boxes containing clothes, and valuables enough to load two carts. Indeed they were much better provided with money and effects than any of the cavaliers who had previously set foot in Jersey.[1]

Sir Thomas Fanshawe, although his annual income had orignally amounted to four thousand pounds sterling, had been deprived of the enjoyment of it for upwards of four years, the parliamentarians having taken possession of his estates in order to obtain funds for carrying on the war against the king.[2] He had

[1] This account of Chevalier's agrees in all points, except the date, with that given by Lady Fanshawe in her memoirs; but as she is not always to be depended on in this particular, we rely on the date given by our journalist, of whose accuracy we are the more impressed the more we compare his statements with collateral authorities. "I was at Penzance with my father," writes the exemplary Lady, "in the same town was my brother (in law) Fanshawe, and his wife and children. My father and that family embarked for Morlaix in Brittany, with my father's new wife, which he had married out of that family. My Cousin, Fanshawe of Jenkins, and his eldest son, being with them, went also over, but being in a small vessel of that port and surprized with a great storm, they had like to have been cast away, which forced them to land in a little creek, two leagues from Morlaix on the 28. of March (February) 1646."

[2] At the commencement of the troubles, we are told by Lady Fanshawe, Sir Thomas had agreed, for a consideration, to resign his office of Remembrancer of the Royal Exchequer to his younger brother Richard (her husband), "but the war breaking out soon after, put an end to the design." From Whitelocke we learn that in the month of

nevertheless been fortunate enough to preserve much of his movable property, including a considerable sum in gold and silver coin. His lady, far advanced in pregnancy, when she fled with him from Cornwall, was confined soon after her arrival at Morlaix, which prevented her from accompanying her husband to Jersey. He nevertheless, expecting her to join him after her recovery, took a house in St. Helier's for her reception, but it so happened that she never came there.

Sir Thomas, who on his arrival wore a red ribbon in token of his being a Knight of the Bath, resided with two friends at Elizabeth Castle, where they were hospitably entertained by Sir George Carteret. His visit to Jersey was by no means fortuitous,—he had been sent over by the Prince of Wales to inquire personally into the state of affairs at Castle Cornet, especially into the cause of a complaint, "signed by almost every man's hand in the castle," praying for the removal of Sir Peter Osborne, and for the appointment of Seigneur Saumarez to be their governor in his stead. This complaint, as we have seen, had been sent to Sir George Carteret and the commissioners in Jersey, by whom it was transmitted to Prince Charles. Sir Thomas was also directed to bring about a reconciliation between the two royalist governors, who were mutually so irate that they had ceased to correspond directly with each other, and for some time had addressed all communications on public service to intermediate parties. There

August 1644, "Sir Peter Osborne, and Sir Thomas Fanshaw, for deserting the parliament whereof they were members, were discharged of their offices, which were conferred upon others"—and in September "Mr. Hoyle was put into Sir Peter Osborne's office, and Mr. Salway into Sir Thomas Fanshaw's place in the Exchequer."

were other reasons, however, for Sir Thomas Fanshawe's embassy, which will be best explained by the subjoined letters from the Osborne Manuscripts.

"The Prince of Wales to Sir Peter Osborne.

"After our hearty coñendacons We have long considered, by occasion of yo^r severall representations to Us of y^e state of that castle, how we might in o^r present condition of affaires, best put it into a way of releife, and give besides some good testimony to yo^u of y^e care, and estéme we have of yo^r person, and of o^r sense of yo^r Loyall sufferings in so tedious a seidge, and so great difficulties which you have endured, and wrestled with, but could never satisfie our selfe of any course for it so well as in this which we have now taken, by sending you this bearer, Sir Thomas Fanshawe (a gentleman particularly well known to you as you to him) with full Instrucõns, and with such present Accomõdacõns for that garrison in some reasonable measure, as we hope shall produce a very good effect. For the perticulers we referre you to him whome you are to credit in all things which he shall deliver to you from Us, as a person in whome we deservedly repose an entire trust and confidence, and from whome as We on y^e behalfe of our Royall Father rest fully assured of a most faithfull acc^t of his trust, so it will not be y^e least advantage to have such an Eyewitnesse of yo^r comportment in that weighty Charge, who hath directions to report it to Us, and whose Testimony can be doubted of none. And so we bid yo^u heartily Farewell.

"Given at our Court at Lanceston y^e^ 1° of February 1645, 6.

CHARLES P

"By his Highn^ss^ com̃aund in Councell

RIC FFANSHAWE"[1]

"Sir Peter Osburne."

"Sir Thomas Fanshawe to Sir Peter Osborne.

"S^r^,

"I am com̃anded by the Prince to come to this Place, and by the help of S^r^ George Carteret to convey unto you such pro*vis*ions as might for the present be gotten. I came by the way of S^t^ Mallo where I fortunately mett with Mrs. Danvers[2] whoe told mee what you had most neede of in the Castle w^ch^ I have proceyded (being sixe months' victuals) by the hands of such as have beene y^r^ Agents upon the like occasion heretofore. I am likewise comanded p̃sonally to attend you with a letter from his Highnes, a coppy of w^ch^ I have sent you, but finding the passage to be at the worst this time of Mooneshine, and so dead a calm, I have deferr'd my journey till a darker time, but that no time might be lost because the yeare grows high I have thought fitt w^ch^ the soonest to give an account of what I have to say.

"His Highnes, that your good service, and his Ma^tis^ affayres might not be neglected, has sent mee hither to looke after fitt supplies of all kindes w^ch^ you shall stand in neede of, and that shalbe in his power to give you upon my sollicitation on y^r^ behalfe, w^ch^ I shall very

[1] To this Sir Peter replies with due humility and thankfulness, promising strict obedience.

[2] Miss Danvers, a kinswoman of Lady Osborne.

much rejoyce to doe. But w^ch^ all hee endeavors the speedy reducing of Gernesey, Nowe I am to aske you from him what you can advyse towards the effecting of this. I am likewise upon his Highnes comands to tell you what discourse I have had w^th^ S^r^ George Carteret conc^ning the same, who propounds two wayes; either by a considerable force of ships and men, if hee can gett them, to invade the Iland, or else to come w^th^ a lesser number and surprise the towne where he believes to bee the ꝑsons of the best, and most men of quality in that Iland, upon w^ch^, hee conceaves, the whole Iland will yeald. To accomplish either of w^ch^ hee must enter by the Castle, and if there bee occasion, upon any blowe receaved, hee may secure the remainder of his forces there, w^th^ out w^ch^ hee sayes hee cannot possibly undertake the worke. It is true there is this open objection ag^st^ it, that such forces as shall so come in will be able to master the Castle if they bee so disposed, so as you shall not be assured to give that account of y^r^ comand and trust w^ch^ his Ma^ty^ hath imposed in you; Ag^st^ this I can say no more but, that if his Highnes shall comand (not w^th^ standing this objection) any of these proceedings, it may be, you may thinke fitt to allowe it as a discharge of that obligation. I doe clerely and candidly deale w^th^ you, I doe not knowe of any such resolution in the Prince to doe this, but doe beleeve it is possible this may prove to be the case.

"S^r^ George Carteret does seriously and solemnly professe (& I have reason to beleeve him) that he will cordially joyne w^th^ you in all things w^ch^ shalbee most for the advance of his Ma^ties^ service in that Iland; and S^r^ upon so long an understanding of you as I have had, I can assure myself of all that can be done by you

towards that end; S^r^ I shall desire y^r^ ꝑticular Answeare to this letter w^th^ any thing w^ch^ shall best conduce to the taking of Guernsey, & that you would informe me howe and when I may bee likely to have the best passage to wayte upon you, being to return, if it please you, speedily backe agayne. S^r^ I am extreamely senssible of the great suffering w^ch^ you have had; I have sent word to his Highnes from St Mallo how you were lately sumoned from my L^d^ of Warwicke, & y^r^ answeare to it, which I knowe wilbee wellcome to him. Having no more to trouble you w^th^ at this tyme I rest—S^r^

"Y^r^ very affectionate frend to serve you

THO FANSHAWE."

"Jersœy 25^th^ — 1646"[1]

"S^r^—I have sent you a letter from y^r^ eldest sonne whom I left at Falmouth.

"S^r^, Captayne Darrell being very desirous to goe to you, I have desired to stay for the speedy conveyance of those provisions w^ch^ are coming from S^t^ Mallo to you; when that is done hee wilbee w^th^ you, or sooner if you will comand him away."

[1] The month is not mentioned, but it must clearly have been March, on the 11th of which month Sir Thomas arrived in Jersey. Among the Osborne Papers, in juxta-position with this letter, we find the rough draft of a document, without date or signature, endorsed thus, "my father's directions how to reduce the Island." These directions were most probably drawn up at Fanshawe's suggestion, and forwarded to Lord Jermyn at Paris, whither as we learn from a letter of John Osborne's, dated St. Malo, March $\frac{18}{28}$, 1646, Lord Culpepper was gone to consult Jermyn about the means to be employed for the reduction of Guernsey. This letter, and Sir Peter's directions, will be noticed when the time comes for discussing the question of Jermyn's selling the islands to the French.

At the very time that the royalists were concerting plans for the invasion or surprisal of Guernsey, the inhabitants of that island were themselves meditating an attack upon the fortress. As a precautionary measure the occupants of houses along the shore nearest the castle were ordered to dislodge, and retire to Fountain-street, a locality then considered well beyond the reach of cannon shot.[1] This being accomplished, the land batteries opened a fire upon some provision boats recently arrived from Jersey, and then had the audacity to aim their shots at the castle itself. Sir Peter took little notice of their firing on the boats, but when he found they had the temerity to damage the ramparts, and heard their shots whizzing about his ears; when he saw roofs and chimneys toppling down in all directions, he aroused himself from his lethargy, laid aside his pipe, and gave his assailants *quid pro quo*. In the course of that day, (19th of March,) and the following night, he fired no less than seventy-eight shot, most of them six-and-thirty pounders, upon the newly repaired houses of the town, which did much damage and caused much consternation among the islanders, who speedily abandoned the design of attempting the castle by assault, as they had hoped to do after it had been well cannonaded.

On the 2d of April, Sir Thomas Fanshawe embarked with Captain Bowden in the governor's galley, and was safely ferried over to Castle Cornet. He found on land-

[1] This fact is instructive, and enables one to make a comparison between the most effective artillery of 1646, and a much less potent species of gun two centuries after. It is evident that the heavy ordnance of the castle during the civil war, was incapable of attaining its object beyond half-a-mile, whereas in these days, a nine-pounder would be scarcely deemed serviceable that could not hit the target at a distance of more than a thousand yards.

ing that he had arrived at a critical juncture: the garrison being in a state of mutiny, Sir Peter imprisoned in his quarters, with a brace of cannon levelled at the door to prevent escape, and the master porter in a similar predicament.

Sir Thomas, although well aware that the soldiery and their commandant had for some time been at variance, was not a little astonished at finding them in actual collision. On inquiry, he ascertained that the crisis had been brought about by Sir Peter, in his angry mood, having repeatedly struck the master gunner and others with the flat of his sword. Although not even the slightest scratch had been inflicted on these individuals, a general feeling of indignation and resentment pervaded the garrison; the men declaring that they would not submit to personal correction, in addition to the other hardships they were called upon to endure in support of a cause which they had voluntarily adopted.

The Prince's wise and noble envoy, after hearing each side of the question, reproved both parties mildly and discreetly for endangering the safety of so important a place as that committed to their charge. He pointed out to them that if an assault had taken place whilst they were quarrelling among themselves, the castle would inevitably have been carried; and his Majesty would have lost this, as he had done many other places of equal consequence, by want of union in the garrison. He informed the soldiers that he had been sent over to convey to them the Prince's thanks, for the good and faithful services they had rendered to the king; and to express his highness's firm reliance on their loyalty for the future; and he concluded by soothing Sir Peter with the promise of ample supplies in future.

His Majesty and the Prince having commanded him, he said, with the assistance of Sir George, to see that he should want for nothing, not even wine; this was then so scarce that, during the six days Sir Thomas remained at the castle, he in common with the rest, had nothing but water to drink, except one small cup of wine each, after dinner.

By his amiable bearing, and conciliatory conduct, Sir Thomas at length succeeded in restoring union, and re-establishing proper discipline and subordination in the garrison. He held many conferences with Sir Peter and his officers, relative to the defence of the castle, and had the satisfaction of receiving assurances from them, as well as from the soldiery, that they would continue to maintain the place for the king, and serve his Majesty loyally and faithfully until it pleased God to restore peace throughout the British dominions.

Sir Thomas, in fulfilment of his promise, no sooner returned to Jersey than he prevailed upon Sir George Carteret to send for provisions from St. Maloes, and in a short time a Norman boat arrived in Jersey laden with thirty barrels of biscuit, and eleven of beef; seven hogsheads of claret, three of Spanish wine, and another of cheese, together with two bags of rice. All these and other refreshments were transhipped into smaller craft, and by degrees conveyed to Castle Cornet whenever a favourable opportunity occurred [1]

Sir Thomas Fanshawe remained in Jersey until some time after the arrival of the Prince of Wales, and then took his departure for France; residing with his family

[1] In turning over the MSS. in the Bodleian Library, we were fortunate enough to light on an account, which not only reveals the source from

at Caen for about a twelvemonth, as will hereafter be proved on sufficient evidence.

On the 23d of March, shortly before his visit to Castle Cornet, he had an opportunity of witnessing the vigilance of the Jersey outposts. At break of day the look-out on the north-west coast observed a flotilla of small vessels in the offing, steering a direct course apparently from Guernsey; a circumstance of ominous

which Sir Thomas obtained the ways and means, but of the manner in which the money was laid out:—

"An account of moneys towards the relief of Castle Cornet.

RECEIPTS.

	Pistolcs.		
"Received in Cornwall by bills, which were answered in France, from the right Hon^ble^ Sir Edw. Hyde, Chancellor of his Majesty's Exchequer, upon account towards the relief of the said Castle	556	0	0

DISBURSEMENTS.	Pist	livs	ss
For my passage from France to Jersey	005	0	00
Given to the Gunner of Guernsey (Castle Cornet) .	001	7	00
For unlading provisions several times in Jersey . .	001	7	13
For my passage to Castle Cornet and back again . .	012	0	00
Given to the soldiers there	020	0	00
For putting provisions aboard	000	0	08
Given to a soldier that went with the provisions . .	000	5	00
Delivered to Mr. Fanshawe by the Lords' appointment .	073	3	00
Delivered more to Mr. Fanshawe by the Lords' appointment	040	0	00
For my own expenses in attending this business . .	050	0	00
Delivered more to Mr. Fanshawe by the lords' appointment	046	1	16
Disbursed by Mr. Stephens for provisions as appears by this annexed bill	305	7	13
The Total of the receipts . . .	556	0	00
The total of all disbursements . .	556	0	00

THO FANSHAW *

* Clarendon, unpublished manuscripts.

import, considering that a squadron of ships was stationed off that island, and that the parliament had of late threatened a descent upon Jersey, to avenge the depredations committed on their traders by Sir George's picaroons.

The suspicious sail continuing to advance, the sentries gave the signal that a hostile landing might soon be expected; the alarm was conveyed from parish to parish by the ringing of the tocsin, and in a short time the militia of St. Peter's, St. Mary's, St. Martin's and Trinity, appeared in battle array on the sands of St. Ouen's bay, the place where the disembarkation was most likely to be attempted. In the meantime dragoons were despatched to town to give notice of the impending attack, but before the governor had time to come to the spot, the delusion had vanished. A breeze springing up at the turn of the tide, the supposed enemy altered his course, and it was afterwards discovered that the vessels which had unconsciously created so much alarm were merely harmless merchantmen, becalmed on their way to St. Maloes, and driven towards the coast of Jersey by the mere force of the current.

Although this affair turned out to be only a false alarm, Sir George fully calculated on an attack in good earnest in the course of the ensuing summer, especially if the Prince of Wales sought refuge in Jersey, as was now generally understood. It was not likely that the rebels would neglect so favourable an opportunity of molesting him, even if they failed to get him within their power. In anticipation of such a contingency, the sagacious and energetic governor had employed the whole of the winter in making preparations for an obstinate resistance in case of a blockade. Guns had been mounted

on all accessible points along the coast; St. Aubin's tower had been repaired and put in a state of defence; and not only his own fortresses, but Castle Cornet as well, were, when spring came, victualled for several months. Supplies of corn, beef, salt fish, biscuit, peas, coals, &c., obtained either by purchase, or marauding by land and sea, were so abundant that his magazines were not sufficiently capacious to contain them. He, therefore, proceeded to transform the old church of the castle into a granary by replacing the roof, which had been razed by Sir Philip, in order to form a platform for ordnance; leaving, however, a path between the temporary roof and the embattled parapet for sentries to make their rounds; for the double purpose of protecting his magazine and keeping a look out to seaward.

With reference to soldiers, he was not badly off, for early in April a small detachment of English arrived from France, under an officer of considerable military experience. They were succeeded from time to time by others, all fine stout fellows, well clad, but with no other weapon than their swords, sent over by Lord Jermyn to reinforce Sir George, who, having armed them with firelocks, enrolled them with his militia; and, not having room for them in the castles, billeted them in private houses.

These soldiers, formerly serving in the royal armies in the north of England, had been taken prisoners by the rebels, who fearful that, if allowed to go at large, they would form a nucleus for future malignant risings, gave them the option of repudiating their former cause, or of abandoning their native country. Being all staunch royalists they preferred the latter alternative, refused

the covenant,[1] and were transported beyond the sea. Some entered the French armies, others went to Flanders and took service with the Spaniards, but after a twelvemonth, disgusted with papistical usage, they deserted, and with much difficulty and danger joined the Queen of England, at Paris. Her Majesty, however, not having occasion for their services, and not being in a condition to maintain a body of idle soldiery, Lord Jermyn took the opportunity of drafting them to his hitherto neglected government, in Jersey, under the pretext that they were much wanted there.

The Prince of Wales, having by this time escaped from what Lord Culpepper, in a letter to Digby, calls "a very Cornish mousetrap," was now in a still more awkward predicament at Scilly, only awaiting a favourable opportunity to evade the parliamentary fleet, and run across the channel.

Before we meet with him in Jersey, however, we must turn to the West of England, and inquire what he has been doing in that quarter for the last twelvemonth and upwards. This retrospective glance is essential to the fulfilment of our intention, to trace the footsteps of the Prince as carefully as possible from boyhood to manhood.

[1] Chevalier, who never presumes to meddle with matters beyond his comprehension, innocently observes: "je ne sais ce qu' importe ce mot de Covenant." He became better informed in the sequel.

CHAPTER VI.

PRINCE CHARLES SEPARATES FROM HIS FATHER—HIS PROCEEDINGS IN THE WEST—HIS LETTERS TO SIR GEORGE CARTERET—GOES TO SCILLY—EMBARKS FOR JERSEY—NARROWLY ESCAPES BEING TAKEN BY THE PARLIAMENTARY FLEET.

In the spring of 1645 the King determined to send his eldest son into the west, confessedly, "to unboy him, by putting him into some action, and acquaintance with business out of his own sight." The motive assigned may probably have been the chief inducement which led to the adoption of this measure, but it was not the only one; there were others which contributed, arising out of the threatening aspect of affairs at this juncture. The treaty of Uxbridge being ended, and the Commons at Westminster, having eagerly passed the self-denying ordinances, were forcing it on the Lords, who digested this act of self-destitution so reluctantly, that delays were created, and public affairs obstructed to a degree which under other circumstances might have proved favourable to the royal cause. But in spite of this the new model was actively progressing; for the Commons "did not slacken their pains to prepare for war, in case the treaty for peace should take no effect." And, although the cavaliers, in their carousals, "looked upon the new army, and new officers, with contempt, and the

new model was by them called the *new noddle*,"[1] the king himself was well aware of its being a portentous omen.

The turbulence and recklessness of his own vicious commanders, the defective state of his ill-disciplined troops, and his inability to pay them or raise a sufficient number of recruits, gave ample reason to dread the result of the ensuing campaign, and did not tend to alleviate his domestic anxieties. His three younger children were not only in the parliament's quarters, but under the immediate control of a nobleman who had from the commencement taken an active part against him. The two elder were with him it is true, but he was conscious that the protection he then afforded them was daily becoming more and more precarious, and he had been heard to say "that himself and the prince were too much to venture in one bottom."

On the chancellor's return to Oxford from the fruitless conference at Uxbridge, his majesty spoke to those whom he trusted, with more despondency than usual on the state of his affairs, private as well as public. He seemed to have very reasonable apprehensions that, upon the loss of a battle he might become a prisoner, and foresaw that if the prince in like manner fell into the hands of the rebels both would be inevitably ruined. Although his majesty never professed to imagine that they would venture to take his life, he was inclined to ascribe any forbearance they might evince in this respect, less to their virtue than their policy. For, as he often said in discourse, if the king were dead the parliament stood dissolved, "so that there would be an end of their government:" a theory, however correct

[1] Whitelocke, 135.

in point of law, evidently considered fallacious by the chancellor, who seems to have coincided in the opinion expressed by Lord Digby, that "his majesty was clearly satisfied in his understanding, that if both the prince and himself were in their hands (the rebels) together, the best that could happen would be murdering him and crowning his son."

This opinion was elicited during a long conference between Digby and Hyde, in which the latter was sounded as to his views respecting the ultimate removal of the prince out of the kingdom under certain circumstances. The question having been put whether, in contravention of the king's express commands, but in accordance with his private wishes, Hyde would consider himself justified in conducting the prince into France; the circumspect chancellor, having the example of the Earl of Stafford before his eyes, replied:—"He wished the king would speak with him of it, that he might take the boldness to conjure him, never to put an honest, and a faithful servant to that unjust streight, to do anything expressly contrary to his plain, and positive command, upon pretence of knowing his secret pleasure; which is exposing him to publick justice, and reproach, which never can be wiped out by the conscience of the other; and that the artifice was not worthy the royal breast of a great monarch. This, he said, was still upon the supposition of the king's liberty; but if he were a prisoner in the hands of his enemies, though that should not shake his resolution, or make him say things he doth not intend, upon imagination that others know his meaning, the case would be different; and honest men would pursue former resolutions, though they should be countermanded according to circumstances."

He added that he would make no scruple of carrying the prince into Turkey, rather than allow him to be made a prisoner by the rebels. But as the king never alluded to the subject in his many private conferences with the chancellor, and never intimated the least thought of the prince's leaving the kingdom till after the battle of Naseby, Hyde infers that the queen, knowing the intimacy existing between him and Lord Digby, who was her creature, commissioned him to feel the pulse of the chancellor, "and discover, whether he, in whom she never had confidence, might be applicable to her purposes."

The king, finding notwithstanding the factions in London that the parliamentary army was far advanced in organization under Fairfax, and that Waller was already in the west, became impatient that the prince should leave Oxford and begin his journey to Bristol. In no action of his life was Charles I. without some mental reservation; he on this occasion privately resolved that the prince should merely "keep his court in the west, that they might be separated from each other, without engaging himself in any martial action or being so much as present in any army." But he wished the contrary to be publicly believed.[1] The Lord Hopton

[1] There was at this time a desire among discerning men, for the king himself to remove to Bristol or Exeter, but the ladies of the court, who were very powerful in such consultations of state, unwilling to leave their excellent accommodations in the Oxford Colleges, strenuously opposed the idea. "A piece of satirical humour, reflecting upon some ladies of those times, not greatly distinguished for their modesty," is among the Clarendon papers, and in the handwriting of his Secretary Mr. Edgeman, endorsed by Hyde himself. It is said to have been printed in 1647. This curious production, too much in the style of Dryden's worst comedies, and the best of Mrs. Aphra Behn's, to admit of insertion in these volumes, is evidently a copy of the pamphlet mentioned in Aubrey's collection of letters, vol. ii. 243.

had been sent to Bristol to prepare a house for the reception of the prince, and to put that city in a posture of defence. One regiment of horse, and another of foot were designed for his highness' body-guard "under the command of the Lord Capel, who was likewise to raise them upon his own credit and interest; there being, at that time, not one man raised of horse or foot, nor any means in view for the payment of them, when they should be raised; nor indeed, for the support of the prince's family, or his person. In so great a scarcity and poverty was the king himself, and his court at Oxford."

The king, in the meantime, was urgent in expediting the prince's journey, and commanded that those named to attend upon him should "be ready at a short day." The council, appointed early in the year, to meet frequently at the prince's lodgings, and consider with his highness what preparations should be made for his journey, and in what manner his family should be established, consisted of the Duke of Richmond, the Earl of Southampton, the Lords Capel, Hopton and Culpepper, together with the Chancellor of the Exchequer. To these, as a matter of dire necessity, was added the Earl of Berkshire, his highness's governor, whose weakness and folly were, according to the parting injunctions delivered by the king to Hyde, to be counterbalanced by the rest of the council, by whose advice the prince was to be governed.

When all things were ripe for the departure from Oxford, Richmond and Southampton, on various pretexts, excused themselves for not submitting to the king's commands. Hyde, feeling that the council would be weakened by their absence, for they were men of great

reputation and authority, was also desirous of declining the honour of attending upon the prince in that journey, on the plea that his office rendered it more proper for him to be near his majesty's person. But, his impoverished majesty, having no exchequer, and therefore requiring no chancellor, "told him positively, and with some warmth, that, if he would not go, he would not send his son—whereupon he submitted to do anything which his majesty should judge fit for his service."

A circumstance just then occurred which was considered a good omen:—"Upon the fame of the prince's being to visit the west, and to keep his court there, some gentlemen of the best quality in the west, came to Oxford, as intrusted by the rest to inform his majesty, that they had now formed the design, they had formerly presented to him, much better than it was; and that the four western counties, Dorset, Somerset, Devon, and Cornwall, had resolved to enter into an association, and to be joint petitioners to the parliament for peace." They desired that the prince might be made general of this association, promised to raise a sufficient guard of horse and foot, for the safety of his royal person, and engaged to provide for his support according to his dignity.

At the earnest solicitation of this deputation, at the head of which was Sir John Stawel, the king, believing that no harm could accrue, named the prince general of their association, which compliance so delighted them, that they returned forthwith to Bristol, "that all things might be ready against the prince came thither." In addition to this commission, another was conferred upon him, bearing the high sounding but incongruous title of generalissimo of an army he was not intended to com-

mand;—it had its origin in a delicate piece of flattery on the part of Prince Rupert, who, on superseding the Earl of Brentford, requested "that there might be no general in England but the Prince of Wales, and that he might receive his commission from him."

"It was upon Wednesday the fourth (fifth) of March," that the royal father and son parted never to meet again. Prince Charles was attended by the Earl of Berkshire, Lord Capel, Lord Hopton, Lord Culpepper, the Bishop of Armagh, and the Bishop of Salisbury. Sir Edward Hyde, after a conference with the king, at the conclusion of which his majesty embraced him, giving him his hand to kiss, "immediately went to horse, and followed the prince." The escort consisted of three hundred horse; nevertheless the prince appears to have had a narrow escape of being captured, for, by an entry in Whitelocke, on the seventeenth of March, we find that "Colonel Sir James Long, High Sheriff of Wilts for the king, returning from the convoy of the Prince Charles to Bristol, was set upon by a party of Sir William Waller's at the Devizes, and forty of his men killed; the colonel, eight captains, eleven cornets, and most of the other officers, with three hundred souldiers taken prisoners; about three hundred and forty horse, and store of arms taken, and but thirty of the whole regiment escaped."

The Prince, departing about eleven o'clock in the morning, "lodged that night at Farringdon, having made his journey thither in one continued storm of rain[1] from the minute he left Oxford: and from thence went the

[1] This storm appears not to have been confined to the vicinity of Oxford, for we find that Clanricard writing to Ormond on the 10th of March from Galway, says "the extremity of foul weather, which hath blown down houses and thrown men off their horses, has I presume

next day to the garrison of the Devizes; and the third to the city of Bath, which being a safe place, and within seven or eight miles of Bristol, he staid there two or three days."

From the latter city Hyde, on the 14th of March, writes thus to Lord Ormond:—"When I came from Oxford, which is not a week since, having by his majestie's command the honour to wait on the prince into these parts, I had a special command from the king to use all meanes to give your Lordship frequent advertisements of what passes here, and to endeavour to understand the condition of affaires in that kingdom where your Lordship worthily sits at the helm.—And finding the prince so solicitous to write to your Lordship, that I think he hath committed a duplicate of his letter to three several hands, I found it no less my duty than my inclination to make this address to your Lordship.—Indeed, the prince much pleases himself with the hope of a few men from you for his guard of firelocks, being informed of the rare diligence and activity in light marches of those men; but whether it be convenient for you to spare any of your numbers, I know not."[1]

The little court had scarcely established itself at Bristol, when some intercepted letters gave information that Waller, having eluded Goring, probably during one of his bibacious revels, had thrown succours into Taunton, and intended in a short time to advance "with his horse and dragoons," by Bath towards Bristol, under the hope of surprising the latter city, by some treachery

enforced Captain Bartlett to stay awhile in a good harbour, rather than trust his skill too much in this most violent tempestuous season."—Carte's Life of Ormond, vol. iii. p. 392.

[1] Carte's Life, vol. iii. 394.

within its walls. This intelligence was so alarming, that many fled in haste, but those who remained were prudent enough to render every assistance to Lord Hopton in his efforts to place the city in a condition to withstand a *coup de main.* Waller having received intelligence that the garrison was on the alert, retired to Dorsetshire, where Cromwell was expecting him.

Prince Charles, or rather his council, soon became aware that there was "much more to do, and in which he could not avoid to meddle, than had been foreseen."

It need scarcely be observed, that all writers, from the great historian to those from whom he derived his details, invariably cite the prince as the originator of all proceedings. It is obvious that a lad, not yet fifteen years of age, indifferently trained, leading an erratic life from the time of his being under the nominal protection of Harvey, the great physiologist, at Edgehill, cannot be accounted a responsible agent at Bristol; where, although said to act for himself, he was commanded to sit still and do nothing without the advice of his council, who were placed in a position which required great diligence and dexterity, as Hyde himself, one of the most influential members, confesses.

The chief objects of the prince's journey to the west, was to give countenance to the association, so that "by his presence, direction, and authority, the many factions and animosities which were between particular persons of quality and interest in those parts, and of equal affection to the king's service, might be composed and reconciled." In addition to this task, the members of the council were not only called upon to mediate between the gentry and the officers of the army, the rapine and violence of whose undisciplined

troops could not be surpassed by that of the enemy now daily expected; but they had likewise to allay the jealousies and bickerings which prevailed among the military commanders, who, however much they might differ among themselves, united in contemning the council of civilians who were virtually to control their future operations.

The commissioners of Somerset being summoned to Bristol, it was found that the promises so liberally made at Oxford, had in no one instance been complied with. Of the guards of horse and foot, "not one man or horse were provided; of the hundred pound a week, to be allowed by them for his highness' support, not one penny ready or likely to be; so that he was forced to borrow from the Lord Hopton's store to buy bread." It now came to light that Sir John Stawel, and the other delegates, had entered into private engagements at Oxford without the concurrence of the commissioners, either of Somerset or the three other associated counties. The prince gave them all the encouragement he could, but, notwithstanding all he could say and do, nothing was reasonably proposed or admitted by them for the advancement of the public service.

The grand theatre of war for the ensuing campaign lay clearly in the west, which during the month of March, was in the following condition. The whole of Dorsetshire was in the possession of the rebels, with the exception of two unimportant places, Sherborne and the Isle of Portland. The Devon and Cornish royalists blockaded Plymouth on one side, but on the other were open to incursions from Lyme and Taunton; the latter town being feebly watched by the royalists, whenever it suited their purpose during a cessation of their petty

quarrels to invest it. Taunton was at this time evidently the key of both positions, as inconvenient to the parliamentarians who occupied it as to the royalists who beleagured it. The latter were prevented from beating up the quarters of the enemy by their favourite and rapid onslaughts; the former from marching westward and advancing towards Bristol, the possession of which was more than ever desirable from the presence of the Prince of Wales.

In the meantime Goring, and "Waller's new colleague, Cromwell, have had many bickerings;" and the latter writes, "upon Sunday last we marched towards Bruton, in Somersetshire, which was General Goring's head-quarters, but he could not stand us, but marched away upon our appearance, to Wells and Glastonbury; whither we held it unsafe to follow him."[1] Hyde says that Goring attacked "Cromwell's quarters about Dorchester," took some prisoners and horses, and disordered the rest. Both accounts are probably quite correct, the one not invalidating the other. Goring after this, "very gallantly and successfully, by night, fell upon Sir William Waller's quarters twice in one week, and killed and took so good a number, that it was generally believed Sir William Waller was lessened near a thousand men by those rencounters."[2] The victor would have pursued his advantage, but Grenville refused to stir from Taunton to support him, declaring that if he had an

[1] Carlyle, vol. i. p. 204.

[2] "My Lord Goring upon Saturday last," says Arthur Trevor, writing from Bristol on the 9th of April, the day on which Cromwell's letter quoted from Carlyle is dated, "defeated 600 of Waller's horse, and doth keep him waking by constant skirmishes: and certainly, if his hand hold in for a fling or two more at him, he will return home with little comfort from his Lenter circuit in the west."—Carte's Ormond Papers, vol. i. p. 82.

addition of six hundred men he would be in the town within six weeks.

This want of co-operation, among a host of other instances, gives one some idea how the royal cause was ruined. Had Goring joined Grenville, Taunton would probably have been taken; or had they both united in pursuing Waller, the campaign might have assumed a very different complexion. The latter movement was evidently calculated on by the parliamentary commanders, for Cromwell's letter states that Goring and Grenville were likely to join—"He (Goring) hath all their garrisons in Devon, Dorset, and Somersetshire, to make an addition to him,—whereupon Sir William Waller, having a very poor infantry of about 1600 men;—lest they, being so inconsiderable, should engage our horse, we came from Shaftesbury to Salisbury to secure our foot." He further beseeches Sir Thomas Fairfax, then at Windsor, "full of business, regimenting, discharging, enlisting, new modelling," to send what horse and foot he can spare to Salisbury.[1]

Sir William Waller, whose term of service, under the self-denying ordinance, was nearly expired, drew back soon after eastward. Arthur Trevor, who writes at all times very amusingly to his patron, the Marquis of Ormonde, gives a humorous description of the parliamentarians:—"Waller, and his new collegue Cromwell, were yesterday (April 8th) at the Devizes, and are now marched towards my Lord Goring, with whom they have had many bickerings this spring, but now resolve to play but one rubbers up for the west.—But if they lose this game they so confidently reckon upon, they have not another army in England nearer than the north,—the

[1] Carlyle.

new army intended for Fairfax being not yet cleared of all the solemnities belonging to a song of so many parts and religions.—Essex his army is laid aside, or at best to be cast again;—the crack it received in the west, making it altogether unserviceable to the church.—This was done by vote; the lords being ten to ten, my Lord Essex to turn the scale, pulled out my Lord of St. Alban's proxy, which by a special counter-plea of the old religion, and a new vote my Lord Say avoided: and to make the odd trick sure and his own, he produced a proxy of the Earl of Arundel's, and so got a new army.—And these discomposed iron-huggers (Essex's men) have now cantonized themselves, and do make Croydon the seat of supreme justice in point of appeal; whilst like the lineal sons of Robert Hood, Cade, and Tyler, they issue their proclamations to the oppressed to come and demand justice before them in their supreme council.—* * * We, after our wonted manner have been tampering with them, but too late.—* * * The Earl of Manchester is become the owl of this commonwealth, wherein every bird hath a peck at him; and if he escape with the loss of his feathers only, his condition will be very much above the expectation of his friends."

Goring, disappointed in the prospect of obtaining aid from Grenville to pursue Waller, proposed himself, "with all his foot and cannon, and such horse as were necessary, to attempt the taking or burning of Taunton." Prince Charles, by the advice of Rupert, who was then at Bristol, despatched Colonel Wyndham, governor of Bridgewater, on the 11th of April, to Goring, then at Wells, agreeing to his former proposition, and giving him the option either to stay with the horse or go with the foot. The next day Wyndham returned with a sullen

answer from Goring, who said, since there was nothing to do, and he had been prevented by the council from following Waller, whom he could have defeated utterly, he was gone to Bath "to intend his health."

An adroit remonstrance from Hyde restored him to good humour, and, "after some days frolicking at Bath, he waited on the prince at Bristol, and so all misunderstanding seemed to be fairly made up."

"The Prince of Wales is now here"—Bristol, 9th of April[1]—"beginning to form an army, whereof there is very good hopes, the small differences between the gentlemen of these parts being, for the most material part of the supreme command, well appeased.—[Here will be no great good done, the enemy being so powerful, and the gentlemen of the country so divided, that it is of equal difficulty to vanquish the one as to compose the other.—The prince is invited into Wales, but forbears to go, fearing to give Prince Rupert impediment in his levies.—Such is the jealousy of great princes, though the house be on fire.] And he that made ceremony, to avoid the curse of the ungirthed and unblessed, staid to put on his girdle, was not able to put out the fire when he came.—If some course tending that way be not held, and that very speedily, [all will be naught: for at Bristol he may not stay; his diet is already failing, absolutely.]"

The prince finding the commissioners of Somerset supine, and being informed that the gentry of Devon and Cornwall were more zealous, and entirely devoted to his service, he appointed Bridgewater as a central point for assembling the delegates from the four counties,

[1] Carte's Papers, vol. i. p. 77.—The portions between brackets are in cipher, for the private information of the Marquis of Ormond.

in order to confer with them on the subject of levying troops.

The plague now raging at Bristol,—one hundred and fifty dying there in a week,[1]—hastened his departure, and he arrived at Bridgewater on the 23d of April. The following day he was attended by the grand committees of the four associated counties, to take into consideration the raising of an army for mutual defence. After some consultation among themselves, which lasted until the 27th, they proposed within a short time to levy "eight thousand armed foot; and fifteen hundred foot, and five hundred horse for his highness' guards." Of these, "twelve hundred foot of guards, well armed, and three hundred horse," had mustered at Bristol early in May.[2]

This proposition being approved of, "all particulars were agreed upon; the several days for the rendezvous of the new levies, and the officers to whom the men were to be delivered named, and warrants issued out accordingly. All things requisite for the speedy reduction of Taunton ordered and directed, so that, in order to the taking of that place, and the raising of an army speedily, all things stood so fair that more could not be wished." But this fair aspect of affairs was over-clouded by circumstances, which engendered present and perspective storms.

One of the latent motives which induced the king to discountenance his son's proceeding further west than Bristol, arose from his knowledge that he must necessarily pass through Bridgewater, where he could not

[1] Whitelocke, p. 141.

[2] Trevor's Letter to Ormond, received May 25th.—Carte's Papers, vol. i. p. 88.

fail to meet with his nurse, Mrs. Wyndham,[1] whose husband was governor of that city. His majesty, aware of the prince's regard for her, and her influence over him, dreaded lest she should turn that influence to bad account, knowing, as he did, that she was in the habit of speaking disdainfully of his sacred person to his son.

The apprehension was, as it proved, by no means without foundation, for, no sooner had the prince come within the sphere of her control than its baneful effects became manifest. His highness, who was but little conversant with public business, had been persuaded, after leaving Oxford, "to sit frequently, if not constantly, in council, to mark and consider the state of affairs, and to accustom himself to a habit of speaking and judging upon what was said; to which he had with great ingenuity applied himself." But on his coming to Bridgewater, Mrs. Wyndham, by her folly and petulancy, had not only diverted him from applying himself to the serious consideration of his business,—no very difficult task on her part,—but accustomed him to hear her speak "negligently and scornfully of the council." Although this flippancy of hers did not, we are gravely assured, impress him with disrespect towards them, it encouraged other persons to disparage them, which tended to the diminution of their authority "throughout the whole course."

The lady, it would appear, was not actuated solely by capriciousness of temper in these proceedings; but, deeming the present opportunity a favourable one for improving the condition of her husband and children,

[1] "Anne, daughter and co-heir of Thomas Gerrard, of Trent, Somersetshire."—Pepys, vol. i. p. 250.

sought to procure "grants or promises of reversions of lands from the prince." But finding that any promise he might make was void without the ratification of his council, and that they were not inclined to compliance, she fomented jealousies and discontents among his followers, and "kindled such a faction in the prince's family as produced many inconveniences." Sir Charles Berkeley and Mr. Long were persuaded to consider themselves particularly aggrieved in not being admitted members of the privy council, and they in turn prevailed upon the weak Earl of Berkshire, and other persons who deemed themselves slighted, to join them in complaints against the council, which caused it to be much neglected and undervalued.

Mrs. Wyndham being moreover "a woman of great rudeness, and of a country pride, *nihil muliebre præter corpus gerens*, indulged herself in exhibiting to her neighbours the tone of familiarity she was accustomed to assume towards his highness," and therefore upon all occasions, in company, and when the concourse of the people was greatest, would use great boldness towards him. The lords of the council, who were absolute strangers to her before, as soon as they became aware of her mischievous disposition, determined that his highness should not remain longer than absolutely necessary at Bridgewater. In this resolve they were further confirmed by the unexpected and unwelcome arrival of Lord Goring, who, intent from the commencement on being near the person of the prince, contrary to the king's wishes, came to that garrison under various pretexts, but in reality to seek the appointment of lieutenant-general under his highness. The council feeling that to grant a commission of this kind would

be equivalent to superseding Lord Hopton; and sensible that the king was desirous of keeping Goring away from the prince as much as possible, evaded the application by the promise of a separate command at some future period. Contentions likewise arose at Bridgewater between the commissioners of Devon and Sir Richard Grenville, and between him and Sir John Berkeley, which appeared to render it advisable that his highness should proceed to Exeter to settle the disputes in person. But, as he was preparing for the journey, letters arrived from his majesty to the prince and the lords, forbidding his going further westward. Capel, Culpepper and Hyde were accordingly despatched to Exeter, and on the 30th of April his highness returned to Bristol, having stayed at Bridgewater only seven days.

Sir Edward Hyde, whose History we have lately made free use of, having remained in Exeter, or its neighbourhood—settling the differences before alluded to, collecting arms and ammunition, and transmitting them to Bristol for the new levies, until the month of May was well advanced[1]—we are forced to seek in other channels for information relative to intervening transactions at Bristol; this we derive from published letters which afford internal evidence of authenticity.

Bristol being the head-quarters of the prince's gathering army, the raw recruits enlisted in the surrounding counties, mustered there in order to be sifted into battalions and squadrons of infantry and cavalry, marching regiments and life-guards. It is to be inferred that much activity and excitement resulted from

[1] On the 21st of May he writes from Exeter, that he expects to be at Barnstable the following night, and hopes within four days to be at Bristol, or where the Prince is, as he hears that the plague has driven him from thence.—Warburton's Rupert, iii. 96.

the requisite drilling and reviewing: preparation for offensive operations, and anticipation as to the results of the campaign of the year 1645.

The countries were raising the eight thousand foot for the army, and the two thousand more for the guard of the prince; and as early as the 8th of May, twelve hundred foot of the guards and three hundred horse had marched into Bristol.[1] Lord Digby writes from Droitwich on the 13th, that "his majestie is here in these parts marching to the relief of Chester, with a very gallant army, and the Prince of Wales in the West with another, equal to any the rebels have at this time." Hyde states from Exeter, to Prince Rupert, "I have given you an account of the state of this country, and of the levies here, which truly are advanced so well, that I am confident the king will have a very noble army from these parts; and, if the civil business of these parts be attended, and prosecuted with that vigour and authority, as it may be, truly great things may be done."[2] Efforts were being made to convey arms, received from France at various English ports, to Bristol; and Ormond is solicited for a supply of weapons; "firelocks will do well, if that furnishment may consist with your other provisions of that kind for Prince Rupert, who thinks he hath a strong engagement upon your lordship for two or three hundred of them. Powder will not be amiss, nor indeed any thing that is moneyworth.[3] Here is good store of munition come from France, and much more is expected very speedily. * * * Colonel Gerrard hath sent earnestly to this city of Bristol to invite the merchants to under-

[1] Carte's Papers, vol. i. pp. 858—9.
[2] Warburton's Rupert, vol. iii. p. 96.
[3] Carte's Papers, p. 84, vol. i.

take the keeping of Milford haven, which he promises by Saturday next to put into their quiet possession. This done, he will be able to draw a very considerable force with him after the king to the main land. But I presume he will be instantly directed to relieve Chester, at present in no good condition. Lady Byron is governor of Chester, but what to say, hopefully to your lordship,[1] in that difficulty I am puzzled. Truly I hope the king's business is immortal in that heel, and, if we stand upright in that, *salva res est.* We see them that contemned the king at the treaty, and would be his schoolmasters, and teach him the arts of empire, and almost call him king of Oxon, as the French called their 7th Charles King of Bourges, not able to bring so many men so soon into the field, having their malice, and his and their revenue to support and set out their rebellion."

Taunton was strictly besieged by six thousand royalists; Goring, who on the 30th of April had been called towards Oxford to keep Cromwell in check, was returning to its support with his horse and dragoons; the first of the defender's lines was entered, a third part of the town burned; "the malice of the place died," it was conceived, with the fall of the governor, one Blake, a renegado, "slain by the breaking of a gun to which he was giving fire." This it was supposed would hasten a parley, and ensure capitulation within three days, unless succours arrived in the meantime. The most sanguine expectations were entertained that, with the fall of this important city, the whole of the West would become open to the royal armies, with the exception of a few insignificant places still in the hands of the

[1] Marquis of Ormond.—See Carte's Papers, vol. i. pp. 86—88.

rebels. But at this juncture, just as the prize was within the grasp of the royalists, Fairfax sent a detachment of two thousand horse, and three thousand foot, from Newbury, which raised the siege, and obliged the besiegers to draw off. The relieving party having done their work and left some of their foot in the town, were retiring eastward, when they were encountered and roughly handled by General Goring, which enabled the royalists to rally and again invest the town.

Towards the end of May, the plague being again on the increase at Bristol, it became necessary for the prince to remove a second time from thence; and, "Barnstable, a pleasant town in the north of Devonshire, well fortified, with a good garrison in it under the command of Sir Allen Apsley," was fixed upon as a temporary residence for his highness and his court.

Leaving five hundred of his guards to garrison the works at Bristol, he commenced his journey towards Barnstable, and on the 2d of June arrived at Wells. Here he received a deputation from five or six thousand club-men, who had assembled that morning at a point between Bath and Bridgewater; encouraged by Sir John Stawell, and other country gentlemen to present a petition, praying his highness to take measures for repressing the rapine and violence exercised on them and their property by Goring's licentious marauders.

The petitioners were appointed to attend at Bridgewater, where the prince received them graciously, expressed his sadness of heart at the great grievances and sufferings undergone by his majesty's good subjects, many of which arose from the evils inseparable from civil warfare. He promised, as much as in him lay, to redress the grievances complained of, but expressed his

disapprobation of their unauthorized gatherings, fearing "that others of different affections might mingle with them and pervert them to actions they did not at first intend." He stated that it was his desire to raise an army for procuring a blessed peace; and exhorted those who were willing to return a list of their names to his highness, who engaged that they should be "supplied with arms and ammunition, and put under the command of such persons as themselves would have cause to approve of."[1]

Although, as Hyde writes from Barnstable, "the prince is much delighted with this place, and indeed it is a very fine sweete towne as ever I saw," there is assuredly little reason to believe that either the chancellor or the rest of his colleagues of the council were idly reposing on beds of rose leaves during their stay there. They had scarcely turned their backs on Bristol before the king's express pleasure was signified to them that Lord Goring should be commander-in-chief of the western army; Sir Richard Grenville, major-general; that Sir John Berkeley should superintend the work before Plymouth, and Lord Hopton, the only good man among them, should confine himself to his charge as general of the artillery. The latter also received a special order under the king's own hand, "that the prince should not be in the army, but keep his residence in a safe garrison; and there, by the advice of his council, manage and improve the business of the west, and provide reserves, and reinforcements for the army." In a few days counter-orders were received: Goring was commanded to march forthwith towards Northamptonshire, and Hopton to

[1] Lister's Life of Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 18—from an official copy in the Bodleian Library.

command the forces under the prince; his highness being enjoined to remain at Dunstar Castle and encourage the new levies. But the plague was in the town of Dunstar, and the prince had already left the neighbourhood, and was not likely to return.

The lords, however, although they feared and hated Goring[1] himself, were unwilling to forego the protection afforded by his troops, and accordingly we find a representation, cursorily alluded to in Clarendon, from them to the king, in which they state "if the Lord Goring should presently march out of these parts with his army, the towns of Langport, Ilchester and Bridgewater, being no ways provided for a siege, with the whole county of Somerset, are like to be in the possession of the rebels within a few days."[2] Goring consequently did not march, but remained negligently before Taunton until after the battle of Naseby.

The first intelligence of the untoward event was announced at Barnstable by the rejoicings of the rebels in the vicinity. It found the council in the midst of anxieties and perplexities arising from the jealous feuds between the chief officers of the army, and the disputes between them and the members of the association. Fortunately it is not necessary to our purpose to attempt the unravelling of so many skeins of entangled intrigue. But there is one circumstance, which as it relates per-

[1] Hyde, as usual, in pathetico-comic style, says, writing to his friend Nicholas, "Oh, Mr. Secretary, if you knew the arte and industry that hath been used at Court to dishonour the prince, oppress us, and to frustrate all our endeavours, you would be sad at heart.—Trust me if that had not been the prince would by this time have had the best army that hath been in England since this rebellion.—Lord Goring hath taken his pleasure of us."—Lister's Life of Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 20—in the Bodleian Library.

[2] Lister's Life of Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 11.

sonally to the prince, cannot be passed over; and, "as evil communications corrupt good manners," there is reason to believe that the future Charles II. was exposed to moral contamination at a very early period of life.

"When we were at Barnstable," says Clarendon, "one day the Bishop of Salisbury came to us at council, and informed us that there was a young fellow who assumed too much license about the prince, one Wheeler, who, though he had no relation of service to king or prince, intruded himself with great boldness about his highness; that he was very debauched, and of so filthy a behaviour that it was not to be spoken of; and that Sir Hugh Wyndham[1] had complained of some beastliness of his that was not to be named." Wheeler, after a long debate in presence of his highness, was forbid to come any more to court, or reside in any place where the prince should, and was accordingly ordered to leave the town. But he, not obeying the order, was arrested at the command of the prince, by Sir H. Wyndham, whom he threatened to be revenged of, and accused of making use of treasonous expressions with regard to the king. The prince ordered this matter to be investigated, and although a couple of witnesses who were summoned failed to prove the charge against Wyndham, they were all three forbidden to come near the prince, and the former sentence upon Wheeler was confirmed. In spite, or perhaps in consequence of the tenderness with which Clarendon treats this affair, we can scarcely avoid the conclusion that the prince took part rather against Wyndham than against Wheeler. He acknowledges that the sentence against the former was severe, and

[1] Son of Colonel Wyndham, Governor of Bridgewater—Whitelocke, 156.

that it excited the displeasure of the family; but to avoid the suspicion of vindictiveness, which might possibly arise from a knowledge that Wyndham's mother, the prince's nurse, had before used him ill, he declares that he proceeded in that business with the same candour as he would have done towards a brother. "*Qui s'excuse s'accuse.*" In the meanwhile, "the Prince hath setted the trayned bands of Cornwall, and put good trusty gentlemen, and good lieutenit-colonells and majors in the head of the severall regiments.—There will be a body of 6000 foote armed within these ten days: the Prince intends himselfe to goe thither to take a view of them.—If lord Goring had been as much a soldier as wee expected, that work had been done long before this time; but hee nothing but drinkes and playes."[1]

A letter from Hyde to Nicholas, dated June 25th, informs us that the Prince intends to leave Barnstable for Cornwall on the ensuing Friday, most likely to review the new Cornish levies; and the date of his presence at Liskeard is put in evidence by the following, from the Osborne Papers:—

"The Prince of Wales to Sir George Carteret.

"After our heartie commendations.—Whereas Wee are informed, That the provisions of severall kindes for the supply of his majestics castle of Garnesey were sent from these Westerne parts, and landed att Jersey, where they still remain for want of some safe conveyance to the place for which they are intended:—These are therefore to desire and require you to take some speedie course for the transporting of the said provisions to the

[1] Lister's Life of Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 21.

Castle of Garnesey, and cause the same to be delivered to S^r^ Peeter Osborne:—And upon a returne to Us of your performance of this service, and of the charges thereof, Wee will cause the same to be duely and carefully repayed you.—And if you can give that Castle any other assistance of Corne or other Victuall, you will doe a verie acceptable Service to our Royall Father, and Wee shall take it as a Testimonie of your affection and respect to Us.—And so Wee bidd you farewell.—Given att our Court att Liscard, the 21^st^ day of July 1645.

"Charles P

"By his Highnes Command,

"Rob. Long."

"S^r^ Geo. Cartwright."

Sir Thomas Fairfax, who had entered Somersetshire with his army about the beginning of July, after raising the siege of Taunton, and forcing Goring to retreat, defeated him at Lamport on the 10th of the month, and drove him towards Barnstable where he fixed his head quarters; the remnant of his force being stationed at Torrington and its vicinity. On Friday the 11th of July, "Lieutenant General Cromwell, with some of his officers, made within twice pistol-shot of Bridgewater, to view the town; where making some stay upon a discourse, the enemy shot a brace of musket bullets, which killed a cornet of his regiment, but the Lieut.-General was preserved."[1]

The town, which was strongly fortified, having about thirty pieces of ordnance and deep trenches, was immediately invested by Fairfax; the chief gunner revolted and joined him, and the north part of the place was

[1] Cromwelliana, p. 20—from Mere. Civ.,—July 10 to 17.

soon after stormed. Finding, however, that the garrison was well provisioned, and that it would be tedious to reduce them by siege, the general moved to storm the town, which was unanimously agreed to. Mr. Peters (Hugh) and Mr. Boles, who on the Lord's day before, (the 13th) had in their sermons encouraged the soldiers, again, on the evening of the succeeding sabbath, exhorted the storming party and the forlorn hope to do their duty.

The next day, Monday the 21st, at about two o'clock in the morning, the general's regiment, seconded by others, commenced the assault, and did not give over till they were at the top of the works, with their colours. They then lowered the drawbridge and admitted a valiant young gentleman, heading the forlorn hope of horse, who scoured the streets and beat the enemy from the "hither town," into the further. Before retreating, however, the royalists set fire to the houses, which so exasperated Fairfax and his men, that a trumpet was sent with a summons to surrender, but this being refused, Colonel Massey was ordered to storm on the other side the following morning.

At the dawning of day on the 22d, the general in person directed the assault on one side, under the expectation of a simultaneous attack on the other; the former was executed with great resolution, but the latter failed owing to something being wanting for the storm. This mischance, added to the rapid rise of the spring tide, put off for a time the capture of the place. Sir Thomas Fairfax, impatient at encountering such determined opposition, resolved upon another assault, previous to which he sent another trumpet to the governor exhorting him to surrender, or if not, to "let

all the women and children come forth of the town by four o'clock in the afternoon." Accordingly, our termagant acquaintance, Mrs. Wyndham, and divers others came forth, and then the general battered the town "with great guns, mortar-pieces, fire-balls, hot irons, &c., and fired it in three places; the wind, being great, increased the fire, and the huge flame so terrified them" that they sued for a parley. A truce was granted, but the soldiers declared that if any of the garrison offered to quench the flames, "the cessation should be void, and they would then take all advantages." The garrison in this dilemma, surrendered at discretion, and much treasure in plate, jewels, and money, fell into the hands of the captors; a considerable sum was ordered by the parliament to be distributed among their soldiers, and Mr. Peters "made a large relation before the house of the particular passages in the taking of Bridgewater," and was rewarded with a hundred pounds for his unwearied services.[1]

The rapid progress of Fairfax's army—the unexpected fall of Bridgewater—and the ineffective state of the royalist forces, rendered it necessary for Prince Charles to retire for safety to some fortified town; and within a week of the date of his last letter from Liskeard we find him at Launceston. From thence, on the 28th of July, Culpepper writes to Goring, stating that their magazines fill remarkably well, and requesting him to endeavour to send horses "for fowre tunns of leade from Barnstable, and to have it made from mouldes from Exeter."[2]

On the second of August propositions arrived from

[1] Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 156.
[2] Lister's Life, p. 25.

Goring and Grenville, who had become sworn friends, and pledged themselves to form an army of 12,000 men, ready to march in any direction required, and in as good order as any army in the world. His highness returned a gracious answer, "full of consent," and the same day signed all the particulars proposed, with an expressed resolution to grant whatever might be in his power. On the 3d, Grenville waited upon him at Launceston, received full powers to raise forces, and authority to raise contributions in the county for the payment of arrears to the officers. Before the end of the month, the sudden friendship between the two commanders cooled, and nothing was heard but complaints of want of money, and proposals for putting the soldiers into garrisons.

About the middle of August, the significant letter containing the first intimation of his majesty's commands, that the prince, whenever he found himself in immediate danger of falling into the rebels' hands, should place himself under his mother's care in France, was brought to Launceston by Lord Culpepper.[1] His highness requested the latter to consult none on the subject but the Lords Capel, Hopton, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer; for the Earl of Berkshire, besides being "an ill-treasurer of secrets," was in league with the dis-

[1] "I am now cast into the ends of the earth, and am there inclosed with armies and garrisons by land, and that leviathan by sea, so as I cannot tell how to get off; this tun of man which I carry about me hath a better alacrity in sinking, than either flying or swimming, and until I learn that art, or that Gonsales with his Ganzas fetch me off by way of the moon, I am here lodged until I pay the *ultima solutio*. If the enemy's army do advance, we must try the experiment, who can swim best;—and, as I am very credibly informed, and so as I believe it, the king hath given orders for carrying his son to France."—Trevor to Ormond. Launceston, Aug. 18th.—*See* Carte's Life, vol. iii. p. 422.

contented party, who, without reason, had already spread reports of a design for taking the prince to France. The four members of the conclave were much perplexed at the contents of the king's letter; not so much at the idea of the prince's quitting England, on which point they had long made up their minds, as at a command so specific in favour of France. The objections previously entertained by them against this country had recently been strengthened and confirmed by a letter from Lord Norwich, ambassador at Paris, who passionately declared that the prince's coming thither would prove his utter ruin; an opinion corroborated by the messenger, Will Murray of the bed-chamber, who "gave many instances of moment."

"After two or three sad debates among themselves," the three lords and the chancellor prepared a letter for the king in cipher, explaining their reasons for objecting to France; suggesting the expediency of leaving the choice of residence to them; proposing Ireland, if peace was restored, or Scotland, if the Marquis of Montrose prevailed; but assuring his majesty "that in case of danger they would run any hazard, or into any country, before the prince should fall into the hands of the rebels."

This letter, having received the prince's sanction, was despatched by express; but in consequence of the king's frequent movements from place to place, no answer was returned until nearly two months had elapsed. In the meantime, the chancellor was sent by his highness to Falmouth, "under pretence of giving some direction in the matter of the customs; but, in truth, to take care that the frigate provided for the prince's transportation might be in readiness, and victuals be privately made

ready, to be presently put on board, when the occasion should require."

On the 29th of August the prince, in order by his presence the more effectually to settle some disputes between Goring and the commissioners of Devon, "went from Launceston to Exeter in one day," leaving Sir Richard Grenville to follow with the Cornish soldiers, so as to hasten his levies in the north and west parts of Devon.

A letter, amongst the Osborne Papers, from the prince at Exeter on the 15th of September, announcing his intention of "going to-morrow" into Cornwall, fixes the date of his departure from the capital of Devonshire. A removal rendered advisable, no doubt, by the surrender of Bristol by Prince Rupert on the 11th; intelligence of which, as stated by Clarendon, reached Prince Charles whilst he was still at Exeter.

His highness returned straightway to Launceston, whither all the train-bands of Cornwall were withdrawn; the enemy inclining to advance further westward. As many of the others as could be persuaded were directed to assemble in the neighbourhood of Tiverton, where it was determined to make a stand; an ineffectual one, for the town was soon after taken by Fairfax, who then proceeded to fortify some houses in the vicinity of Exeter.

On the 15th of October, the long looked for messenger who had been following the erratic movements of the king, returned to Launceston, bearing despatches addressed to Culpepper, which contained his majesty's reply, touching the future destination of the prince, to the following effect. "But that," writes the king, "which is of more necessity, indeed absolute, is that,

with the best conveniency, the most secrecy, and greatest expedition, Prince Charles be transported to France; where his mother is to have the sole care of him in all things but one, which is his religion; and that must still be under the care of the Bishop of Salisbury; and this I undertake his mother shall submit unto: concerning which in my next dispatch I will advertize her. —France must be the place, not Scotland, nor Denmark."

Notwithstanding the loss of Bristol, the lords were not inclined to consider the affairs of the west in so desperate a condition as to render the removal of their royal charge absolutely essential to his personal safety. The discontent expressed by the people at the rumours, prematurely and maliciously circulated by Goring and others, led them to apprehend "that an unseasonable attempt of going" to France might involve "the loss of the whole west, both garrisons and army." The lords, therefore, on their own responsibility, resolved to postpone the departure of the prince until the danger appeared more immediate, trusting "that they should be absolved in point of duty by the king, if they only preserved themselves in a power of obeying him, without executing his command at the time."

His highness remained at Launceston till the 23d of October, on which day he writes to Lord Goring, "wee desyre to heare frequently from your Lordship, and resolve ourselfe to-morrow to goe to Liskarde, and ther resyde, till the movement of the enimy, or occurrences shall make our remoove reasonable." [1]

It was probably from this place, early in November, that he applied to the parliamentary general for a safe

[1] Lister, vol. iii. p. 35—from an original draught by Sir E. Hyde in the Bodleian.

pass for the Lord Culpepper and Lord Hopton to go to the king.[1] From Fairfax's reply, and a passage in Whitelocke,[2] it appears that the object of this mission was a desire on the prince's part to mediate for peace. Fairfax in his letter of the 8th of November, suggests that the attainment of "a blessed peace" would be best ensured by his highness consenting to disband his forces, and go in person to the parliament, from whom he could not doubt of safety and an honourable reception. He also throws out a hint, that the lords and gentlemen of his suite might obtain the benefit of the propositions tendered to all those who surrendered before the first of December; and implies that the soldiers would have good conditions offered them.[3]

The prince is made to assume a tone of virtuous indignation at the temptation, contained in the letter of the 8th of November, "to quit his piety and loyalty;" and Sir Richard Grenville is directed to state that, if his highness' former propositions are entertained, he still hopes to be an instrument in preserving the kingdom from desolation; but, that, if they are rejected, "the world will have no cause to believe that he can forfeit his honour and innocency."[4]

[1] Whitelocke, p. 187.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 189.

[3] State Papers, vol. ii. p. 195.

[4] *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 295.

About this time the letters in Lord Digby's cabinet, captured at Sherborne, were read before the house, and it was discovered that negotiations had been entered into with Holland "for a match with the Prince of Orange's daughter for our prince." A member of parliament, present at the reading, writes to his friend with the army; "one passage made us merry which was in Digby's letter to the queen; wherein he blamed the king for keeping his papers so loose that he lost them at Naseby, and thanks God he had lost none of his."—State Papers, vol. ii. p. 193.—Nov. 4th, 1645.

From Liskeard the prince proceeded to Truro, where about the 21st of November, a letter reached him from Lord Goring, soliciting permission to spend some time in France for the recovery of his health, and delegating to his envoy Lord Wentworth, who was a very worthy person, the charge of his cavalry until he could obtain leave to transport it to the continent.

"On the 26th of November, 1645, the lords of his highness' council, then at Truro, importuned Sir Richard Greenvil to profound unto them some speedy course for the preservation of the prince's person, and so much of the country as was then in his possession. Which Sir Richard Greenvil did the next day, directing it by way of letter to Mr. Fanshawe the prince's secretary at war."[1]

Seeing that the greater part if not the whole of Devon was in the enemy's possession, who were fast advancing towards Exeter, Grenville, in conformity with his plan of defence, proposed fortifying Newton Bushel, Oakhampton, and Chumley; and extending a line of communication from one place to the other. This, which might readily have been done, would have preserved the country west of Exeter, and possibly enabled the prince's army to "expulse the enemy out of the county; but the design, together with the propositions, were slighted and nothing done."[2] He nevertheless proceeded with his fortifications in the places just alluded to.

[1] "Which letter, because it hath occasioned a strange rumour in the world,—as if Sir R. G. went about to set up the prince against the king. A copy of the same letter is here faithfully inserted *verbatim*."—Carte's Papers, vol. i. p. 102.

[2] Grenville's proposals, although sneered at by the Chancellor, who gives his own version of them, seem to have been rational and practical under existing circumstances. The History of the rebellion, with all its

The council were now informed that Fairfax, having finished his field works on the eastern side of Exeter, had detached a brigade of his army to invest the city on the west, so that all communication with the surrounding country was likely soon to be interrupted. Four of the lords immediately went to Ashburton, to confer with Wentworth, whose forces, together with those of Grenville, occupied the country between that place and Totness. It was decided that a council of war should be assembled forthwith at Tavistock, to take measure for the speedy relief of Exeter.[1]

excellence, is made up, in this part at least, of *ex parte* statements, and it is therefore a relief to have some testimony on the other side of the question. With the authority of such evidence, we must abstain from placing implicit reliance on Hyde's unqualified censures of the whole of the military commanders, excepting his colleague Hopton; and are warranted in believing that, although the latter were in many instances vicious, tyrannical, capricious, and insubordinate, some fault may have resided with the civilians who composed the majority of the council. They were empowered not only to inspect and regulate the conduct of the generals, to appoint and to displace them as they saw fit, but likewise to propose and control all military operations; so that the blame may fairly be divided between the council, directed by legal views, under the dictation of the Chancellor, and the military naturally jealous of and despising them.—*See* Harris, iv. 17 and 21.

[1] As a preliminary, Lord Capel seems to have gone from Exeter to Liskeard, to look after the arrears of contribution, and to examine into the commissariat department of the army. He writes from thence to Sir Edward Hyde on the 24th of December, entering into minute details, relative to the loss arising from "baking the corne into biskett" rather than into bread; recommending the latter mode as a saving of one day's provision in three, as it would be "sooner baked, easier portage, less loss in portage, and more acceptable to the souldyer." He says that he has procured 500 pair of shoes, and hopes to get more, none being to be had at Bodmin;—and gives it as his opinion that not less than 400 horses will be required for conveying provisions to Exeter, each horse and driver to be paid for at the rate of one shilling a day.—Lister, vol. iii. p. 36.

On Christmas day, the prince, being still at Truro, received a letter from his father,[1] commanding him, as he valued his blessing, not to continue on uncertain hopes in England; but, as soon as there appeared any prospect of danger of falling into the hands of the rebels, to transport himself into Denmark or any other country he might choose except Scotland or Ireland. "If I mistake not the present condition of the west," writes his majesty, "you ought not to defer your journey one hour: in this I am not absolutely positive, but I am directly positive, that your going beyond sea is absolutely necessary for me."

The lords, considering that these commands, although urgent, were not positive, resolved to delay the departure of the prince, on the grounds that there was no danger in the depth of winter of his being blocked up by sea. They further argued that the whole of one county was still open to him; that in the other he had garrisons at Exeter and Barnstable, in addition to the force blockading Plymouth; that the numerical strength of the army was sufficient to remove all fear of immediate danger; and they therefore determined to persevere in their design of "joining the Cornish with the horse, and to endeavour the relief of Exeter."

For this purpose the prince quitted Truro for Bodmin, on the day after Christmas day, although the weather was "fitter for a fire than a march;"[2] and the following day reached Tavistock, when the lords of the council and some of the chief officers of the army attended. It

[1] Dated at Oxford the 7th of November.—*Hist. of Reb.*

[2] "The ground all covered over with snow, the ways so slippery, and the weather so bitter cold, by a hard frost of that continuance as had not been known for many years before."—Sprigge's *England's Recovery*, p. 229, fol.

was decided by the council of war that, as soon as the Cornish infantry arrived, his highness should join them with his guards, and as many foot as could be spared from Plymouth, and so advance to Totness, where magazines of provisions for the whole army had been directed to be formed. From that place it was concluded that the prince might form a junction with the forces at Exeter; that if the enemy interposed their whole body, the garrison, being freed from their presence, might infest the enemy in rear; "and the prince retire, or fight, as he found it most convenient and advantageous to him."

As it was not expected that the whole of the Cornish forces could be mustered at Tavistock in less than a week, the prince employed that interval in visiting Totness to confer with Lord Wentworth, who waited on him from Ashburton the day after his arrival. His highness, after informing him of the plan of operations decided on by the council, called for a list of quarters, for the purpose of determining the future stations of the troops that were to be brought up. Lord Wentworth captiously insisted on receiving no orders from any person but his highness, who thereupon determined to take the chief command of the whole army, and issued his orders accordingly. Having visited Dartmouth to inspect the magazines, and make arrangements for quartering the troops he returned to Tavistock.

It ought perhaps to have been previously stated, that on his highness' first coming to that city, on the 27th of December, he received another letter from the king,[1] written three weeks before, in which his majesty

[1] Dated at Oxford the 7th of December.—Hist. of Reb.

informed him that he was on the point of treating with the rebels at London, but that the result of his negotiations, as well as his own safety, depended upon the prince's being in another country. His majesty again exhorted his son to transport himself, if convenient, into Denmark; but rather than that he should remain in England, permitted and commanded him to repair to France or Holland, or any other country.

The four special councillors were much troubled at his majesty's insisting on the removal of the prince as essential to his own safety, as well as to the success of the proposed treaty. Far from coinciding in these views, they were of opinion, that if the king ventured to lead in person, whilst his son, by his command, was transported out of the kingdom, the rebels would have reason to doubt the sincerity of his intentions; and his own privy council would consider themselves slighted by his want of confidence in them. In the west, the people as well as the soldiers were sanguine as to the result of the combinations recently adopted for keeping the enemy at bay, and the prince's advisers apprehended that any design of his leaving the kingdom would be forcibly resisted.[1] If he succeeded in escaping, they considered,

[1] "A rumour was raised that we were carrying the Prince to France, and a strange mutiny like to be in several places upon it.—At Exeter were meetings upon drawing up a declaration and protestation against it, and against all who should advise it; which had been done, if the governor had not carefully and skilfully prevented it. In Cornwall, at the publick sessions, a petition was framed and tendered to the bench,—by the privity and advice of some of our friends at Court,—by which the prince should be desired to declare that no adverse fortune should compel him to depart the kingdom, with many other clauses fit to accompany the other; this petition was likewise by Sir H. Killigrew, and two or three more, suppressed.—At the same time we received

without previous intimation, the army, thus discouraged, would in all probability disband, and if he made the attempt and failed, the consequences might be still more disastrous. Evasion moreover would be impracticable, without risk of detection; for, although it was known but to few persons, that a ship had been long kept in harbour in readiness, and another had been hired from Mr. Hasdunck, yet, to provision these vessels for so long a voyage as Denmark with sufficient privacy, would have been impossible.

All these considerations being duly weighed, it was unanimously resolved not only that the relief of Exeter should be undertaken, but that the prince should be present at it in person. This determination, together with the reasons for it, were sent by express to the king, signed by the three lords and the chancellor, who furthermore gave it as their opinion, that the aversion to the prince's going to France was so great, that "many who were very faithful, and tender of his safety, would rather wish to see him in the hand of the rebels than in that kingdom." At the same time they assured the king that, in anticipation of any urgent danger, they would be careful to waft his highness to Scilly or to Jersey, so that, although in safety, he might still be within his majesty's own dominions. To this communication the king replied that he was fully satisfied his orders respecting Prince Charles's

advertisements from France, that the Prince's coming over was hourly expected, to the great discomfiture of all the king's friends; and that if he should come thither, he must of necessity be kept there, till the French king came to age. And hereupon I assure you all the servants spoke big, and vowed great matters, if any such thing were undertaken."—Sir Edward Hyde to the Lord Jermyn.—State Papers, vol. ii. p. 203.

going beyond sea had not been obeyed; that he approved of his being at the head of the army, but reiterated his commands that he should be withdrawn from the scene of action whenever there seemed to be "a visible hazard of his falling into the rebels' hands." [1]

The number of old soldiers on the confines of Devonshire, and the muster of train-bands at Tavistock, fully realized the expectations that had been formed. The latter were all arrayed in marching order when the news came that the enemy were on the advance, and had already fallen on Lord Wentworth's quarters, and committed great havoc among his cavalry, which had retreated on the main body in great disorder. The prince, on hearing this, was desirous of advancing with the whole to Totness, but Wentworth deprecated the measure, alleging that the enemy was probably by that time in possession of the place, and that it would require three or four days to rally and refresh his horse. This reverse rendering it necessary to raise the blockade of Plymouth, Tavistock was no longer a place of safety for the prince, who accordingly, "by the advice of a council of war, removed to Launceston; whither all the foot were drawn, and the horse appointed to keep the Devonshire side of the river," under the expectation of being speedily in a condition to advance towards Exeter.

The retreat from Tavistock was conducted so negligently by Sir Richard Grenville, that a quantity of provisions, and most of the stores, which had cost poor Lord Capel so much trouble, were left behind and lost. Many of the Cornish train bands broke loose and dispersed, to protect their homes from the well-known plundering propensities of Wentworth's, late Goring's,

[1] See State Papers, vol. ii. p. 206.

horse, which, instead of being kept together, were quartered loosely in various parts of the county.[1]

The day after the prince's arrival at Launceston, early in the month of January, 1646, Grenville wrote to inform him that it was impossible to keep the army together, or to fight with it in its existing condition. Major-General Harris declared he would receive no orders but from General Digby, who, in his turn, refused to be commanded by any but the prince. A collision had taken place between Wentworth's horse and Grenville's guards and firelocks, two or three were killed, and the rest continued in battle array against each other. Grenville "therefore desired his highness to constitute the Earl of Brentford, or the Lord Hopton, to command in chief, and then he hoped some good might be done against the enemy."

Acting upon this suggestion, the prince, on the 15th of January, appointed Lord Hopton to take charge of the whole army, that Lord Wentworth should command all the horse, and Sir Richard Grenville all the foot—artillery there was none, "nor so much as carriages to carry our small proportion of ammunition, materials and provisions."[2] The order was transmitted to Grenville by his highness, accompanied with thanks for the advice he

[1] The property even of persons belonging to his highness' suite, was not safe at this time. "We were quartered at Truro, twenty miles beyond Launceston," says Lady Fanshawe, "in which place I had like to have been robbed. One night having with me but seven or eight persons, my husband being at Launceston with his master, somebody discovered that my husband had a little trunk of the Prince's in keeping, in which there were some jewels that tempted them us to assay; but praised be God, I defended, with the few servants I had, the house so long that help came from the town to my rescue."—*Memoirs of Lady Fanshawe*, p. 71.

[2] Lord Hopton's narrative.—Carte's Papers, vol. i. p. 110.

had given; but, in spite of the proposals having emanated from himself, he declined the command assigned to him, on the plea of "his indisposition of health;" according, however, to his own subsequent declaration, because the acceptance of a command under Hopton was "a condition inferior to his late command, and a command under one not very well affected to him."[1] Wentworth, although at first inclined to be restive, finding the prince resolute, speedily acquiesced. As for Lord Hopton, he accepted what he himself calls his "unhappy employment," more from a sense of duty and loyalty than from inclination, and took charge of the forlorn hope of the west; an army described by Clarendon in terms the reverse of laudatory.

Intelligence soon arrived announcing the fall of Dartmouth, followed by pressing solicitations for relief from Exeter, whither Hopton resolved to march by way of Chumley, but was delayed at Launceston in daily expectation of carriages for the conveyance of his provisions and ammunition. On the 6th of February he moved forward to Stratton, where he awaited the arrival of his *materiel*, not half of which had as yet come up: in a few days he learnt "by chance" from a party of troopers, which had been out plundering without leave, that Sir Thomas Fairfax, with the main of his strength, was securely quartered within eight miles of his own station. On the 15th the battle of Torrington was fought; the prince's army, of which such high expectations had been formed, was defeated and dispersed; the royalist cause in the west received its death wound, and the first civil war was fast drawing to a close.

In the meantime it was not considered safe for the

[1] Sir Richard Grenville's narrative.—Carte, vol. i. p. 107.

prince to adventure his person with the army, or to remain any longer at Launceston; he therefore left that city for Truro on the 12th of February, and immediately proceeded to Pendennis for the purpose of recreation.[1] After spending two or three days at the castle, inspecting some new fortifications, for the completion of which he had furnished all the money he could procure, he was on the point of returning to Truro, as had been intended, when communications were received from Hopton and Capel, who had severally been informed of "a design to seize upon the person of the prince, and that many persons of quality of the country were privy to it." Culpepper and Hyde, who were in attendance, credited the report, and believed that some of his highness's own servants were not strangers to the plot. The former, moreover, received corroborative intelligence in a letter from secretary Nicholas,[2] who says: "I have certain advertisement from London, that the Earl of Newport reports there that the Lord Capel's lieutenant hath undertaken to deliver the prince over into the parliament army.—This I have from a good hand from London.—Your lordship shall do well to have an eye to that lieutenant, who, it may be, may be injured by that report; but I thought necessary for me to acquaint your lordship with it, and to desire you to make it known to the Lord Capel, that care may be taken to prevent the worst."

[1] A letter from Hyde, in the Osborne Papers, from Pendennis, dated Feb. 13th, renders this certain, unless, indeed, Hyde preceded the prince; which is not probable, as from the same place on the 17th of February, Hyde writes as follows to the queen, "The prince is now here for a day or two, overlooking the works and fortifications, and pleasing himself between Truro and this place."—State Papers, vol. ii. p. 208.

[2] Edw^d. Nicholas to Lord Colepepper—Oxford, Feb. 4th, 1646.—State Papers, vol. ii. p. 206.

These circumstances rendered it advisable for the prince to continue at Pendennis rather than return to Truro, and at first there seems to have been some intention of maintaining him in the fortress. "All our discourse," says Hyde to Jermyn, "is of living in and defending Pendennis against the world; and, indeed, if you hasten your forces, and in the meantime send us some money, ammunition and an engineer, that might be done." The forces alluded to were five thousand foot, which Lord Jermyn asserted were already raised under the command of Ruvignie, and would be landed at Pendennis within a month. The prince lingered there in expectation of their arrival, until the parliament's army was within little more than twenty miles of the castle. But the forces never came; not a man of them had been levied, and Jermyn's assertion rested upon no better a foundation than a casual remark of Mazarin's, that if troops were required to assist the king of England, no one would be fitter to take charge of them than Ruvignie, on account of his being a protestant.

This disappointment, the discomfiture of Hopton, and the advance of Fairfax's head quarters to Bodmin, proved to the select few at the council board, that the hour of pressing danger, so long expected, was at hand. The next thing requisite was to decide upon the future destination of their precious charge; Culpepper and Hyde were fully informed as to his Majesty's pleasure on this point, but durst not show their credentials to the council without betraying secrets which might be dangerous to his interests, if allowed by any chance to transpire. They felt that it would be as impossible to beat Fairfax, as to persuade obstinate, silly old Lord Berkshire, to sanction a removal to France. Opposition was like-

wise anticipated from the army, the country, and above all, "from the garrison in whose power the prince was;" and no support was to be expected from the governor of the castle, Colonel John Arundel, "old, fearful, and not resolute enough to be trusted; and his son, though a gallant gentleman, and worthy of any trust, had little credit with his father."

In this dilemma they deemed it most expedient, without alluding to their knowledge of the king's commands, to represent to their more perverse colleagues that the appearance of danger to the prince's person, rendered his removal from Pendennis necessary. By this means they obtained the consent of the Lords Berkshire and Brentford, and other members of the council, that Mr. Fanshawe should be despatched to the army for the purpose of obtaining the advice of the Lords Capel and Hopton. According to a preconcerted agreement, the two latter gave it as their opinion that Pendennis was no longer a place of security, and that it was desirable, without loss of time, to remove the prince from thence to Scilly or to Jersey. The rest of the council, unconscious of the tacit understanding between the other members, yielded ready assent to the proposal; and, Baldwin Wake having been previously instructed "to cause the frigate belonging to Hasdunck, and the other ships to be ready upon an hour's warning, all for the intended departure, but the resolution was imparted to no more that night (March 1st) than was of absolute necessity."

Scilly, being a part of Cornwall, was selected in the first place, as being less objectionable than Jersey, on account of its vicinity to France; but it was considered that, once at sea, if any modification of plan appeared

advisable, it would be as easy, with a fair wind, to waft the prince to Jersey as to Scilly.

On Monday the 2d of March, news having come that the army was in full retreat, and the enemy rapidly pursuing, the alarm became general for the prince's safety. A council was held, and the governor and his son were called in and "made acquainted with his highness' resolution to embark that night for Scilly, being a port of Cornwall;" but in order to reconcile them to the disappointment, his highness expressed a hope that he might be enabled to relieve them when succour could be obtained from France or foreign parts.[1]

At ten o'clock the same night the prince and all his council embarked in a ship called the Phœnix, and on Wednesday afternoon, the 4th of March, arrived in safety at St. Mary's, the principal island of the Scilly group. Much to their disappointment, they found the place by no means of such strength as had been represented; and, moreover, very poor in itself, and dependant upon Cornwall for its chief supplies, which were often interrupted by a long continuance of contrary wind. "We were destitute of clothes," says Lady Fanshawe,[2] speaking of her own privations; "and meat and fuel, for half the court to serve them for a month, was not to be had in the whole island." Nevertheless, "there was no more thought of leaving the island, than of going to Virginia."[3]

Two days after their arrival, the council despatched

[1] Hyde reiterates these assurances in a letter to Richard Arundel, from Jersey, on the 15th of May.—See Cary's Memorials, vol. i. p. 48. —State Papers, vol. ii. p. 229.

[2] Memoirs, p. 74.

[3] State Papers, vol. ii. p. 229.

the Lord Culpepper [1] into France "to acquaint the queen with his highness' being at Scilly, with the wants and incommodities of that place, and to desire a supply of men and monies for the defence thereof, and the support of his own person." It was agreed upon before his lordship's departure, that in the event of danger from the parliament's fleet, or any other anxiety, the council should at once convey the prince to Jersey. Before leaving Pendennis, they had sent one Captain Allen to inform the Marquis of Ormond of the prince's removal, and to obtain three companies of foot of one hundred men each, to form his highness' life-guard, as well as to assist in the defence of Scilly, whether he remained there or not. We shall have occasion to deal with this soldiery hereafter, as a portion of them found their way to Jersey.

The winds had been so contrary, that the prince did not hear from the mainland until the Lords Capel and Hopton rejoined him on the 11th of April, after the capitulation of their army. With them came a trumpeter from Fairfax, bearing a message from the parliament, who being informed that the prince was in Scilly, and in some streights for want of provisions, agreed "that a letter should be written to him in a loving and tender way" [2] from both Houses, to invite him to come to them. The following is a transcript of this loving and tender letter:—

"SIR,

"The lords and commons assembled in the parliament of England, being informed that your high-

[1] A letter from Ashburnham gives information to Culpepper, that his Majesty is much troubled at the idea of his going with the prince, and thinks it better for his service, that he and Hopton should remain behind.—State Papers, vol. ii. p. 197.

[2] Whitelocke, p. 203.

ness is lately removed into the isle of Scilly, have commanded us, in their names, to invite you to come forthwith into their quarters; and to reside in such place, and with such council and attendants about you, as the two houses shall think fit to appoint."[1]

The prince replied, on the 15th, that he had a great and earnest desire to be among them, could he be assured that this would lead to a happy peace; that in the hope of being an instrument in obtaining so great a blessing, he had chosen that poor island to reside in; but the scarcity of provisions had compelled further removal, and he had selected Jersey because it was part of the dominions of his royal father, and in order that he might be near to correspond with them and receive their advice, which, as far as consistent with his piety and duty, he professed would be an unspeakable comfort to him.[2] This artful letter tended to cover the design, long before fixed, of going to France, and in order to render the execution of it more easy.[3]

In the meantime, the weakness of St. Mary's, if attacked by the enemy's fleet, as might now be anticipated; the scarcity of provision, not one day's victual having been received from Cornwall for full six weeks; and the scantiness and badness of the supplies from France, inclined the council to consider the propriety of retiring as soon as possible to Jersey. The only valid objection that could be raised against the

[1] "And that will be such as may bee both honourable, and safe, as becomes a prince of England."—Tract, No. 126—King's Collection.

[2] Harris' Life of Charles the Second, vol iv. p. 24.

[3] Harris, vol. iv. p. 25.

immediate adoption of this measure, arose from the fear that it might endanger the safety of the king's person, who was reported to be at this time in London. There was likewise a chance that, during the voyage, they might be driven by stress of weather into some port in France; which would have been still more prejudicial to his Majesty's interests. From this state of uncertainty the council were relieved, by the production of a letter which the prince, in obedience to the impressive injunctions of his father, had withheld from his faithful advisers ever since the month of June.

In this letter, dated Hereford, the 23d of June, 1645, the prince is solemnly commanded by the king not to yield to any dishonourable conditions, not to endanger his person, nor do anything derogatory to regal authority, either to rescue his father from the hands of the rebels, or even to save his life should their resolutions be never so barbarous. It likewise charges him to keep its contents secret until he has cause to use it, and then, and not till then, to show it to all his council. The Chancellor seeks to conceal his mortification at the prince's having yielded such implicit obedience to his father, by observing, that he believed this was the only secret he had ever kept from the four he trusted.

The morning after the arrival of Capel and Hopton, at Scilly, Sunday, the 12th of April, a fleet, of from twenty to twenty-eight parliament's ships, encompassed the island; but that afternoon, "by the rising of a blessed storm, which held for two days," it was dispersed. The appearance of this fleet convinced the whole of the members of the council, excepting the Earl of Berkshire, that the danger was now become sufficiently

imminent to warrant them in giving their own construction to his Majesty's commands. And, as the enemy's ships were scattered by the late tempest, the opportunity was not to be neglected for transporting the prince to a place of greater safety. Accordingly his highness and the whole of his retinue embarked on Thursday, the 16th of April, and the next day, favoured by a prosperous breeze, they landed in Jersey; "the most pleasant island," says Hyde, "and, truly, I think the strongest in the world."[1]

The very nick of time had happily been chosen for the voyage. Within a few days the recently scattered ships had again joined company, as we learn from a passage in a hitherto unpublished letter[2] from Captain Thomas Amy, who commanded The Little George, one of the prince's frigates employed to convey provisions from France to Scilly, for the purchase of which the vessel was laden with tin,[3] under charge of Francis Godolphin.

"Brest, the 18th May, 1646.

"Right Honorable

"On Sunday the 16—26th Aprill I met with 34 saile of English Ships in a fleet, one whereof being of

[1] History of the Rebellion, and State Papers.

[2] Clarendon MSS. in the Bodleian Library.

[3] Tin, the chief source of revenue to the Prince by virtue of his ancient privilege of preemption, was actually, not metaphorically, money in those days, available for purposes of traffic, and comparatively as valuable as gold is likely to become in the present. Godolphin, who seems to have acted as supercargo on board Amy's frigate, makes grievous complaints to Hyde of the treatment he received at the hands of the Captain. As his letters bear reference to passing events at that period, I cannot but think them, as curiosities, worthy of a place in the Appendix.

Dartmouth bound for Newfoundland, and not sailing soe well as the rest, I tooke; but having more men than my selfe, and myne such as they are, I thought it more safe to let her goe, then keep her with the hazard of my selfe and ship. The maistre of her told me that, two houres before I tooke him, he parted from seventeen saile of the parliaments ships, whereof nine were, of the many, under the command of Batting, bound for Silly to bringe the Prince to London.—There being one Gallop abord, who lately held Portland for his Majestie, had assured the Parliament to perswade his Highnesse to come to them.—They had then bene fifteen daies at sea from the Downes; I feare much the ill surrending of Silly; I believe the fleet will follow his highnesse at Jersey, from whence, if he chance to move, I hope your honor will be pleased to leave order for my proceedings, and furnishing me with money, when I shall there arrive, till when and ever I rest

"Your honor's most humble servant

"THOMAS AMY"

"To the right honorable
Sir Edward Hyde, Kt. Chancellor of His Majesty's exchequer—now in the island of Jersey."

CHAPTER VII.

PRINCE OF WALES IN JERSEY—HIS SUITE—HE RESIDES AT ELIZABETH CASTLE—HIS PROCLAMATION—DINES IN PUBLIC—HOLDS A LEVEE—CONFERS TITLES—FIRST VISIT TO CHURCH—REVIEWS MILITIA—ORIGINAL LETTERS—PERPLEXING NEWS FROM THE QUEEN MOTHER—SIR BALDWIN WAKE SUPERSEDES SIR PETER OSBORNE—SEA FIGHT—BIRTHDAY REJOICINGS—HOSTILE SQUADRON RECONNOITRES—SUCCOURS TO PENDENNIS—PRINCE CHARLES' FIRST YACHT—ORDERS NEW FORTS TO BE CONSTRUCTED—A MINT SET UP—THE PRINCE'S REMOVAL TO FRANCE PROJECTED—ORIGINAL LETTERS—THE QUEEN SENDS JERMYN TO JERSEY—DEBATES AT ELIZABETH CASTLE—HYDE'S ROUGH NOTES—HIS HIGHNESS' DEPARTURE.

We now resume Chevalier's journal, and find that on Friday evening the 17—27th of April, 1646, about an hour before sunset, the Proud Black Eagle, a frigate of one hundred and sixty tons, mounting four-and-twenty guns, and commanded by Captain Baldwin Wake, cast anchor before Elizabeth Castle, having his royal highness the Prince of Wales and his immediate suite on board. No single piece of cannon was fired from the frigate or the castle by way of salute, no flag fluttered in the breeze, excepting the royal ensign on the bowsprit of "*Le Noir Proudeagle.*" His highness's visit being no subject of rejoicing, but on the contrary a proof of the unprosperous condition of the royal cause, he thus arrived without pomp or circumstance, and was received with silent but sympathetic respect and loyalty.

The prince was attended on board his frigate by the

members of his council, and other lords, knights and gentlemen, in addition to six clergymen, all of whom landed without any public demonstration at the castle. In the course of the same night came the Doggerbank, of six guns, belonging to Hasdunck, and a smaller vessel[1] of four guns. The former contained the chief officers of the household, with their wives,[2] families, and upper servants of both sexes. The latter brought over the tradesmen, such as tailors, shoemakers, &c., together with inferior domestics, male and female, even to the laundresses (*lavandières*); the body guard and other soldiers, the whole of the baggage, four superb horses, and store of provisions—beef, cheese, flour, and dried peas. The wind had been fair all the way from Scilly, and they had encountered no enemy's ships excepting three small vessels off Guernsey, steering a course towards the coast of Brittany which took no notice of them.

On the very night of the prince's arrival, warrants were sent to the constables of the twelve parishes, ordering them to lay an embargo on every harbour and creek around the coast, so that not even a boat might leave the Island to convey intelligence of the event to the enemy. Notwithstanding these precautions, which were enforced for three days, the news by some means

[1] This was probably the Phœnix, which, as we are told by Lady Fanshawe, conveyed the Prince from Pendennis to Scilly.

[2] Among these was the lady of Richard Fanshawe, who in corroboration of Chevalier's statement says, that she never journeyed with the Prince, "but either before him, or when he was gone; nor ever saw him except at church; for it was not the fashion in those days for honest women, except they had business, to visit a man's court. We arrived in Jersey," she continues, "safely, praised be God, beyond the belief of all beholders from that island; for the pilot not knowing the way into the harbour, sailed over the rocks, but being spring tide, and by chance high water, God be praised, his Highness, and all of us came safe ashore through so great a danger."

or other reached Guernsey, as we find from the following letter written by Colonel Russel to the Earl of Warwick:—

"RIGHT HONOURABLE,

"I beseech your Lordship's pardon of my presumption, and to give me leave to inform your lordship, that since the sealing of my two former, I have been this morning credibly informed that the Prince of Wales arrived at Jersey the $\frac{26}{16}$ April instant, and with him six hundred men, (together with those there before) being considered for a design against us. I beseech your lordship to take this into your honourable consideration; as also the particulars of my two former inclosed, (which cross wind and weather hath prevented from already kissing your lordship's hands,) and to endeavour that assistance of shipping be sent with all speed.

"I now send the Dove express to Admiral Batten in the west, to request his assistance; which (if he cannot give assistance himself) I beseech your lordship's procurement of an order to him for that purpose. And for my part nothing shall be wanting, either of care or resolution, which may conduce to the preservation of my trust.

"I shall not further presume, but only congratulate your lordship's happy, and honourable marriage.

"ROB. RUSSEL."

"Guernsey April $\frac{27}{17}$th, 1646." [1]

The whole of the prince's male attendants, including noblemen, gentlemen, tradesmen, servants, soldiers, &c., amounted to little less than 300 individuals. From

[1] Cary's "Memorials of the Civil War," i. 11. We shall continue to give the dates of the months according to the old style, in order that Chevalier's statements may be more conveniently compared with those of Hyde and other authors.

the above letter we find that the amount had doubled before the news reached Guernsey; and it was magnified tenfold by the time it got to Paris, from whence R. Augier, the parliament agent, writes to the Speaker thus:—"The great amount of royalists fled to Jersey, which amounts to about *three thousand*, put in fear those of Guernsey of some attempt upon their Island."[1]

From Chevalier's journal, and the Osborne papers, we obtain the following "list of such lords and gentlemen as are now with his Highness Prince Charles in the Isle of Jersey.[2]

"Earle of Berkshire, his highness' governor, knight of the garter, who wore a star on his left breast, like the Prince.

"Earle of Brandford, with his lady (*dame damée*),[3] and their daughter.

"The lords Capell, Wentworth, Hopton, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Edward Hyde. All of the Prince's Councell.

"Sir John Grenvil, gentleman of the bed-chamber, son of Sir Bevil Grenvile, slain before Bristol.

"Mr. Murray,[4] Mr. Seamor, and Mr. Harding, groomes of the bed-chamber.

"Mr. Lane, gentleman of the Privey chamber; Mr. Marsh, groome of the privey chamber.

"Mr. Smyth, cup-bearer, who presented the goblet when his Highness chose to drink; Mr. Palmer, esquire —carver, who cut the meat from the dish, and placed the slices on his Highness's platter.

[1] Cary's Memorials.

[2] The annotations in the text occur in the originals.

[3] Lady in her own right, a foreign Princess.

[4] Charles Murray, whose humorous letter is to be found in the State Papers, in which he alludes to Jersey; Harry Seymour, and Dick Harding, frequently named in subsequent letters.

"Mr. Duncome, suier; Mr. Lightfoote, master of the Roabes.

"Mr. Osbaston, Mr. Hughson, Mr. Chiffin,[1] pages of the back stayres.

"Mr. Windham, page of honour; Mr. Roades, equery; Mr. William Kinsman, auditor, gentleman of the king's privy chamber, who had been paymaster of the forces during the recent campaigns. In this office, far from enriching himself, he had been impoverished, but living constantly in the fear of God, if man ever did, Providence raised him up friends in the day of need.

"Mr. Fanshawe, secretary to the Prince; and Mr. Solicitor Cooke.

"The divines were the Rev. Dr. Creighton, Dean of the king's chapel; Doctors Earles, Clay, and Byam, chaplains to the Prince; and Mr. Richard Watson, chaplain to my lord Hopton.[2]

"Dr. Frayler, Physician.

"Mr. Freeman, gentleman usher, quarter wayter; Mr. Lyle, barber; Mr. Johnson, Clerk of the kitchen; Mr. Gavan; Mr. Wynn; Mr. Bullen, purveyor of silken fabrics, fine linen, and other such articles to the Prince, and his court; Mr. Gosselin, grand carver to his majesty Charles the First."

[1] Tom Chiffinch, a much more reputable character than his brother William, better known as the Chiffinch of Peveril of the Peak. Evelyn dined with the former at his house-warning in Saint James' Park, in 1661, and corresponded with him on the subject of pictures. He had then become keeper of the jewels to Charles the Second, and of the king's closet, as well as page of the back stairs, comptroller of the excise, and purveyor of treasures and curiosities to his Majesty. He died suddenly, Pepys tells us, of an imposthume in the breast, on the 8th of November, 1666.

[2] No relation to Scout-master Watson, but a very worthy divine, brother-in-law of W. Edgeman, Hyde's private secretary. He is men-

Then comes a list of the gentlemen who were not his highness' servants.

"Mr. George Fane, a gentleman very much beloved and esteemed by the Prince, who was very intimate with him.[1]

"Mr. Walton, son of the Prince's wet nurse: his highness was very fond of him, on account of their both having been nourished by the same milk, and invariably called him his brother.[2] Mr. Lovel, a very wealthy English gentleman, who before the troubles had declined the honour of knighthood. Sir Edward Stawell, son of Sir John Stawell, formerly governor of Exeter for the king. Mr. Francis Godolphin, governor of Scilly, a man of small stature, but vast possessions in those islands.

tioned by Wood, as "an exited theologiste for his loyalty," who at Bruges in 1649 edited a book entitled "Diatriba de antiqua ecclesiæ Britannicæ libertate," written by Dr. Isaac Basire (a Jerseyman), one of Charles the First's chaplains in ordinary. Richard Watson published an English translation of the work in 1660.

[1] No further trace of him is to be found anywhere.

[2] From this passage we acquire the unexpected information that "y^e^ milk nurse" to whom the Duchess of Richmond at the christening of Prince Charles, gave "a chain of rubies estimated at 200 liv." was a certain Mrs. Walton; not Mrs. Wyndham, who seems to have been, what would now be called, a nursery governess. The words, "milk nurse," are from a letter among the Lansdowne MSS., but it is suspected that there is another copy in existence, the original of that in Peck's Desiderata Curiosa, from Ja. Meddus to Joseph Meade, cited by Harris, in which we find that the sentence runs thus: "to the Melch nurse, &c." There appears to be a tradition, purporting that it was usual for the first-born prince of the blood to be suckled by a wet-nurse from Wales; on this tradition, or some other, an ingenious theory is founded, which supposes that the first sounds assailing the auditory nerves of every Prince of Wales should be uttered in Welch, in order "probably to keep up the old custom, and promise to the principality." It would be curious, if this theory rested on a false reading,—and yet, what more likely, in deciphering or transcribing a crabbed manuscript, than to mistake an M for a W, and thus convert *M*elch nurse, into *W*elch nurse.

Sir David Murray, an old cavalier, nearly eighty years of age. Mr. Loving; Mr. Hinton;[1] Mr. Wake, baronet;[2] Mr. Clapham, who had expended much of his substance in the royal cause; and Sir Henry Mannering, a man between seventy and eighty years of age, who had been a terrible pirate in the flower of his youth, consorting with the king of Morocco, and carrying into his ports all prizes captured by him from English, French, Spaniards, and Flemings, indiscriminately. By such corsair-like pursuits he contrived to amass immense riches in gold and silver, and owned a large fleet of galleys, which was for a long time the terror of all traders navigating the straits. Reiterated complaints of the intolerable depredations committed by this redoubtable pirate were made to James the First of England, who at length despatched an envoy to Morocco, threatening on the one hand to send out a fleet sufficient to overwhelm Mannering, even in the harbours of his ally; on the other, offering him free pardon on his royal word if he would abandon his piratical proceedings and come to England.

"Relying on the royal promise, Mannering accepted the offer of pardon, and came to England, bringing over with him a considerable sum of money, which he presented to King James. His majesty graciously took him into his service, appointed him to the command of one of his ships of war, and knighted him. Sir Henry Mannering at this time lived in great state, entertaining a large

[1] William Hinton, so frequently alluded to in the State Papers, and to whom Charles the Second addresses a letter of thanks and a request for money.—See Evelyn's Diary, iv. 197.

[2] In all probability father of Captain Wake, of the Black Proud Eagle.—In the list in Baker's Chronicle we find that Sir Baldwin Wake, of Clevedon, in Somersetshire, was created Baronet, December 5th, 1621.

retinue when on shore; but on his coming to Jersey he was as poor as the rest, with only a single person, his own nephew, to attend upon him."[1]

The military commanders who attended on the Prince, under the orders of my Lords Brentford and Hopton, were Colonels Strangeways, Smith, Palmer, Hopton;[2] Colonel-Major Cooke, Lieutenant-Colonel

[1] In Nicholson's Progresses, (vol. iii. p. 470) we find that James the First knighted Sir Henry Manwaring, of Surrey, at Oking, March 20th, 1617-18. And from Carte's Collection (vol. i. p. 125) we extract the following passage contained in Lord Hopton's narrative:—"As for the Great George, the ship appointed by your Highness' order to be brought after your Highness by Sir Henry Manwaring, how she was staid by the importunity of the Governour and officers of Pendennis for the service of that Castle, and that I used my best endeavour to have your Highness' order observed concerning that ship, will appear by several letters that passed between me and them, which I have ready to shew * * *. Scilly April 13, 1646."

In a subsequent part of Chevalier's Journal we find a long detail of the "heroic feats of Sir Henry;" how the King of Morocco gave him a castle to protect his four and twenty galleys; how intimate they were; how they called each other brothers; how by tricks and cunning stratagems Mannering contrived to escape from the Spanish fleet; how at another time, being attacked by a superior force, and his shot expended, he beat off the enemy by loading his guns with pieces-of-eight. How he afterwards rescued Charles the First, then Prince of Wales, from being detained by the Spaniards, beguiling their grandees on board his ship, and then leading them captives into England. This is the only apocryphal portion of the journal; and we have a strong suspicion that Sir Henry must have spun a sailor's yarn, and beguiled the simple-minded chronicler into belief of his marvellous adventures over a "dish of claret."

[2] A cousin of Lord Hopton's who, after braving showers of bullets in the wars with impunity, was killed in Jersey by the accidental discharge of a fowling-piece. This new-fangled gun, the lock of which acted with a double spring, (*un fusil rare qui se bandoit à deux fois*) had been laid carelessly upon the table of a tavern by Sir — Preston, who was carousing there with some other Irish as well as English Officers. Colonel Hopton joining them soon after, seated himself opposite the muzzle of the piece, and began drinking with the rest. In a short time Preston took his departure, when his servant, an awkward

Millet, Major Jackson, Captains Straherne, Moyle, and Napper; Mr. Charles Cornwallis, Mr. Gurnett, Mr. Goosenill, quarter-master, and various other commissioned and non-commissioned officers, whose names it is not necessary to transcribe.

The naval officers in command of king's ships and letters of marque, who were in Jersey during his Highness' sojourn in that island, were Captains Bowden, Baldwin, Blaye, Piquet, Jones, Skinner, Jelf, Smith, Amy, Marquand, Beaudains, and Captain Vandersell, the proprietor of several privateers.

Many other personages afterwards joined the Prince, whose names are given by anticipation in the following list:—

"Sir Thomas Hooper, who had been knighted during the civil wars, arrived from St. Maloes on the 1st or 2d of May; also Sir John Foulkes. On the 12th came Sir Dudley Wyatt with despatches from the Queen to her son. Sir —— Preston, an Irishman, came *viâ* Morlaix, from my Lord Taffe. Sir Questover Lewkner; Sir John Say; Sir Edward Hasker, a commissioner appointed to dispose of the crown-rents and royal demesnes in Jersey. Lastly, Sir John Macklin, late in June. This person, when the prince came first into the west, was master of a merchant vessel of eight hundred tons, homeward bound for the Indies, which he brought into Bristol. Merging his faith to his owners in his loyalty, he surrendered the ship and her

Irish lad, took up the fowling-piece, which being at full cock went off, and lodged its contents in Hopton's chest, killing him almost on the spot. The body lay in state for some days, and was then buried with military honours; the whole of the ceremonials being circumstantially detailed by Chevalier.

valuable cargo to the king;[1] and for this acceptable service, which contributed largely to the royal wants by supplying the sinews of war, John Macklin was knighted by the prince, the first instance in which his highness had exercised the prerogative. He was furthermore handsomely and substantially rewarded, and on his coming to Jersey was still flush of money; but he knew well how to take care of it, for he lived in the strictest economy with his wife and sister-in-law, keeping only one maid-of-all-work. His wife soon after her arrival in Jersey gave birth to a daughter."

The Prince of Wales and his court having landed, as we have seen, at Elizabeth Castle, the Lord Wentworth was despatched by the council that same night into France with an express to the queen, announcing his highness' safe arrival in Jersey; and letters were likewise sent to St. Maloes and Havre-de-Grace to advertise the Lord Culpepper of the same. His lordship, when the message reached him, was at the latter port, where he had been about six weeks waiting for a fair wind to take him to Scilly. He had been commanded thither by the queen, with a couple of Dunkirk frigates, to convey provisions and other refreshments, together with a tolerable sum in gold and silver, to her son. It was even reported that his lordship had been directed to remove his highness from Scilly into Jersey, but the prince came thither of his own accord in a vessel of his own, whilst Culpepper lay wind-bound in France.[2]

[1] The following notice seems to bear reference to Macklin's vessel:—"January 1645—news was brought that a merchant's ship from London, bound for the East Indies, revolted to the king, and went to Bristol having in her 28 pieces of ordnance, and above 30,000*l.* in goods."—Whitelocke, p. 171.

[2] The strict accordance between this account and that given in the

On Saturday the 18th of April the Lord Hopton was despatched to Mont Orgueil, to inspect that castle with reference to the accommodation it was calculated to afford, and its security as a residence for his highness and the court. The report could scarcely have been favourable, for the fortress was open to attacks both by sea and land; its dwellings were in indifferent repair; it was ill fortified, and moreover at an inconvenient distance from the town of St. Helier's the capital of the island. The prince, at all events, immediately established his head-quarters at Elizabeth Castle, where he continued to reside during the whole period of his stay in Jersey.

"After the prince," says Clarendon, "had taken an account of this island, both himself and their lordships were of opinion that it was a place of the greatest security, benefit, and conveniency to repose in, that could have been desired and wished for; till upon a clear information and observation of the king's condition, and the state of England, he should find a fit opportunity to stir; and the prince himself seemed to have the greatest averseness and resolution against going into France, except in case of danger of surprisal by the rebels, that could be imagined."

Whilst Lord Hopton was occupied with his survey of Mont Orgueil, and the rural parishes, the lieutenant-governor was busily employed in assigning quarters to those among the hangers on of the court whom he could

history of the Rebellion is very remarkable,—the more so as the journalist wrote when the historian was only at the commencement of his laborious task, and died before its publication. The former, therefore, is free from any suspicion of plagiarism, and stands forth as an accurate and faithful recorder of passing events, the knowledge of which he derived from contemporary sources.

not conveniently accommodate in the new castle. The nobility tenanted the town houses of the *petite noblesse;* the gentry occupied apartments in the dwellings of the principal merchants; those of inferior condition were lodged among the lower towns-people. No positive expense was, however, entailed upon the owners of tenements beyond the obligation of letting furnished lodgings gratis; their inmates either provided the necessaries of life at their own cost, or were maintained at the prince's charge.

"We quartered," writes Lady Fanshawe, "at a widow's house in the market-place, Madame de Pommes, a stocking merchant. There are many gentlemen's houses, at which we were entertained: they have fine walks along to their doors, double elms or oaks, which is extremely pleasant, and their ordinary highways are good walks, by reason of the shadow. Sir George Carteret," she continues, "endeavoured, with all his power to entertain his highness and court with all plenty and kindness possible, both which the island afforded, and what was wanting, he sent for out of France."

Some difficulty was at first experienced in providing sufficient food for so vast and sudden an influx of consumers. Much of the land had remained uncultivated while the peasantry were employed in digging trenches for the besieging of the castles; and those who had produce to dispose of had been chary of exposing it for sale in the public market, ever since the catastrophe which befel the Norman and his horse. Legislative interference therefore became necessary, and the lieutenant-governor assembled the jurats and constables for the purpose of taking measures to ensure a steady supply of provisions at certain fixed rates.

In obedience to his suggestions, butchers and farmers were ordered to bring their commodities to the market-hall by nine o'clock on every Wednesday morning; but were prohibited from retailing them to any but the purveyors of the prince and his principal lords, till after twelve at noon, in order that they might obtain the choicest articles; after which the commonalty were allowed to make their purchases. The following scale of charges was ordered to be strictly adhered to under pain of such corporal punishment as Sir George Carteret might think proper to inflict. The price of the best mutton was fixed at 3 sous the pound weight; lamb, 3 sous 6 deniers; veal, 2 sous 3 deniers; and beef, 2 sous 6 deniers. Pullets were sold at 8 sous a couple; capons and fowls at a similar rate according to their quality.

The island fishermen were ordered by public proclamation to bring their fish to market, namely, barse, mullets, soles, turbots, plaice, whiting, lobsters, and mackerel, under the like penalties and restrictions. During the rest of the week, the inhabitants of the country parishes in succession were directed to purvey the inmates of Elizabeth Castle daily, with two sheep, one lamb, one calf, two pigs, a couple of chickens, a couple of goslings, two dozen of eggs, and two pots (pottles) of butter, the very best not to exceed 24 sous per pottle. In a short time meat and poultry poured in from Normandy and other parts of France, so that at length Jersey was amply supplied with provisions of all kinds, notwithstanding the imposition of the arbitrary tariff.

On Sunday, the second day after Prince Charles' arrival, a council was held at Elizabeth Castle, and the following proclamation issued:—

"De la Cour de Son Altesse Royale le Prince de Galles.

"Ce dix neuvieme jour d'Avril 1646. Son Altesse le Prince de Galles, étant à present en cette Isle de Jersey, fait savoir aux Habitants d'icelle, Que s'il y a aucunes personnes à lui appartenantes, ou dépendantes de sa Cour, qui par injure ou mépris, ou autre voie que ce soit, fasse aucuns excés à aucun des habitants, Qu'ils aient à en rendre leurs plaintes et déclarations au Chevalier George de Carteret, Lieutenant Governeur pour sa Majesté en cette dite Isle, desquels delinquants Son Altesse veut et entend en faire justice exemplaire, selon l'exigeance du fait.

"De part le Prince et son Conseil

"RICHARD FANSHAWE."

The same day, although it was the sabbath, in the observance of which the islanders were somewhat puritanical, or pretended to be so, great rejoicings took place, to "solemnise" the safe arrival of the prince; and soon after nightfall every prominent hillock throughout the island was crowned with a blazing bonfire; every man contributing his faggot as a token of his loyal satisfaction. Never, in the memory of man, had so many *feux de joie* been witnessed in Jersey.

The day following his highness performed an act of courtesy, admirably calculated to wean the woman-kind of the island from their parliamentarian predilections. It has been already stated that, on the return of George Carteret, many of the opposite party concealed several of their personal effects to preserve them from confiscation; most of the fair dames of St. Helier's had confided their valuables, including of course their most becoming attire, to the safer keeping of their country

cousins; but, alas! all had been seized and held forfeit to the crown. The extreme hardship of the case was represented to the young prince, possibly by sweet Mrs. Douce, Lady Carteret's sister, celebrated for her amiable qualities by Prynne; possibly by the discreet Mrs. Richard Fanshawe; as well as by the grave, though jolly chancellor of the exchequer. The idea of restoring the much loved paraphernalia could scarcely, as yet, have originated with Charles, whose gallant instincts were not so strongly developed as at his second coming. Be this as it may, his highness issued peremptory orders for the restitution of the habiliments, and thus won golden opinions from all sorts of women.

The next few days were dedicated to holding levees in the great hall of the castle, where the chief functionaries, the principal gentry, in short the *beau monde* of Jersey were presented to his highness, and kneeling on one knee were indulged with the honour of kissing his royal right hand. The good-humoured familiarity of manner, and the desire of acquiring popularity, for which he was afterwards so celebrated, seems to have characterised him even at this early period. "C'etoit un Prince grandement benin," says Chevalier, and the islanders, expecting more stateliness, were astonished and proportionately fascinated with his "benign" demeanour, and the affability with which he gave them audience. Predisposed to sympathise in the misfortunes of a young prince, barely sixteen years of age, who had already experienced so many vicissitudes, and encountered so many dangers, they were now flattered into a perfect delirium of loyalty, at the idea that their rock was deemed worthy of affording him shelter, and that they

were selected to be the protectors of the heir apparent to the British crown.

To add to the delight, Prince Charles, occasionally gratified their curiosity by admitting them to see him dine in state, according to the courtly fashion of the times. Our unsophisticated chronicler, a sort of Samuel Pepys in his way, must have been himself an eye-witness of these prandial ceremonies. Dazzled by first impressions he describes them with circumstantial minuteness; he is astonished at the magnificent display of gold and silver plate; marvels at the precision of the arrangements; and admires the adroitness of the numerous attendants. "Quand au sujet du maintien de la table de ce Prince, il etoit tel, que chacun savoit son poste, et les choses y etoient mises par un si bon ordre, que le tout se faisoit avec plaisir, et contentement à les voir, comme chacun étoit prompt à son office."

At the upper end of the table were laid a plate, a knife and fork, all of silver; and then in massive dishes of the same metal were served up meat, fish, and other viands, under the direction of the sewer (Mr. Duncome). His highness, before placing himself at table, stood uncovered whilst a doctor of theology pronounced the blessing; he then, putting on his hat, seated himself, the reverend doctor standing at his right hand, and the lords and gentlemen in waiting, all uncovered, around him. A page, kneeling on one knee, now presented a ewer and bason of silver gilt, and a napkin; and, after his highness had rinsed his hands and dried them, each dish in succession was offered to him. That which he selected as most agreeable to his palate, whether fish, flesh or fowl, was conveyed to the carver stationed at the opposite end of the board,

who, after carving slices from the dish honoured by royal selection, tasted them, deposited them on the silver platter, which being taken back, his highness condescended to cut the slices up himself and eat them. Another kneeling page presented him with bread, cut up into long slender junks, on a silver salver; and, when the prince had finished the first course, his plate was removed, and the dish trenched upon was sent away. The cup-bearer, a youth about the prince's own age, offered him beverage on bended knee, having previously tasted it; and whilst the prince was drinking, he held a vessel under his chin, to prevent a drop from being spilt on his vestments. The cup being empty, Ganymede received it back, and making a low obeisance retired.

The same tedious ceremonial,—selecting, carving, tasting, offering food and drink,—was repeated at each course; and, when the prince had appeased his appetite on solids, the carver collected the remnants of broken bread, &c. in a silver platter. The dessert was then served, and this, in turn, being disposed of, the chaplain said grace, and his highness, rising from table, retired.

There were grand doings at Elizabeth Castle on Friday the 24th April 1646; grander doings than any that figure in the annals of Jersey either before or since that period. The Prince of Wales in the exercise of a prerogative, recently acquired, that of conferring titles of honour on deserving cavaliers, not only confirmed his majesty's patent in favour of Sir George Carteret, by personally going through the form of dubbing him a knight, but he went a step further and created him baronet. Chevalier ever after this alludes to Sir George

as knight and baronet, and the same titles are appended to his name in all official letters addressed to him by Charles the Second. On the same day, and in the same place, the captain of the Prince's frigate was transformed into Sir Baldwin Wake, preparatory to his relieving Sir Peter Osborne from the irksome duty he had so long performed as governor of castle Cornet.

As Baldwin Wake's name frequently occurs in royalist correspondence anterior to his knighthood, and as he still takes a share in support of a tottering cause, it would be disrespectful to his memory not to collect whatever can be met with relating to his previous history. He was not altogether one of the amphibious leaders of the epoch, as ready to manœuvre a squadron of ships, as to charge at the head of a squadron of horse; but appears to have been exclusively maritime. Hence his removal from the command of a floating battery, to that of a stationary fortress surrounded by the sea is not a very violent transition.

We find from Clarendon that, when the Earl of Warwick took the command of the fleet in the summer of 1642, and summoned all the captains to attend him on board his ship in council, Wake and Slingsby, who were the only ones sufficiently in the king's interests to disregard the order, kept their ships in readiness for sea, resolved at all hazards to be at liberty to attend his majesty's commands. But they were so closely watched by the rest of the fleet, and their own seamen already so much tainted with disloyalty, that instead of conveying the ships to sea, they seized upon their captains and delivered them up to the admiral, who immediately committed them to custody, and afterwards sent them up as prisoners to the parliament.

On the 17th of November, 1643, Ormond informs Bridgeman of the arrival of Captain Wake in Dublin on the 7th instant, in command of his majesty's fleet, "consisting of two ships and five barkes." Towards the end of the same month Orlando Bridgeman, writing from "Beaumorris," requests, if it be possible, that, upon the return of Captain Wake, some of his ships may be employed in assisting to take the important port of Liverpool from the rebels.

In the month of February 1644, Lord Digby informs the Marquis of Ormond of the defeat of the Irish army under Byron at Chester; earnestly exhorts him to send over all the forces he can spare, and says: "Captain Wake's squadron of ships that lies still at Beaumorris, shall have directions to transport them with all possible diligence." Early in the following month Digby again writes thus, from Oxford: "I have according to your Excellence's commands given Baldwin Wake order to hasten to Dublin with his ships, there to attend your commands. . . . . Since the writing of this I received a letter from Captain Baldwin Wake, wherein I find that he, having endeavoured to pass over to Dublin with his ships, he found them in so ill case, and his own men so disobedient, that he was faine to tack about, and return to Bristol, where he now is."

On the 20th of May ensuing we learn from secretary Nicholas, "that Dr. Cooke, judge of the admiralty in Ireland, hath made stay of a vessel called the *George* of Liverpoole, which was left there by Captain Wake, and hath caused her to be appraised at such a rate as he pleaseth, and disposed of her for his own (Cooke's) private benefit; which vessel Sir J. Pennington writes would have yielded above £100, with her ordnance and

furniture. I beseech your Excellency to cause her to be enquired after, that his majesty may have an accompt of her."[1]

Sir Peter Osborne, writing to Charles I. in the autumn of 1645, and, as usual, applying for more men, provisions and clothes, suggests that their transportation to castle Cornet should be committed to "a person of resolution and assurance with a ship of good force." For this employment he humbly takes the boldness to recommend Captain Wake (if not otherwise employed in his majesty's service), a gentleman in whom all those good and able parts are, that may be requisite for this service, of whose good conduct and despatch Sir Peter is not only hopeful but confident, and that he may peradventure come in a happy season for aiding in the reduction of Guernsey.[2] Baldwin Wake, however, was wanted elsewhere, and we hear no more of him until he reappears in attendance on the Prince of Wales at Pendennis, and ultimately brings him over to Jersey, in the Proud Black Eagle.

His highness had now been a whole week in Elizabeth Castle without attempting to set foot on the main island, when it was announced that on Sunday, the 26th of April, he intended to land at St. Heliers, in order to attend divine worship in the town church.

Great preparations, in anticipation of this joyous event, were made by the anxious citizens in arranging and ornamenting their church. Seats and benches—there is no mention of pews—were removed from before the pulpit. The open space, thus formed, was carpeted; a chair of state, with a small table before it, was

[1] Carte's Life of Ormond, vol. iii. pp. 198, 212, 240, 257, 303.

[2] Osborne Papers.

fitted up, cushions being placed thereon to support his highness's elbows, and other cushions for him to kneel upon. The carpet, the table and the aisles were strewed with a profusion of flowers, and herbs of sweet savour; whilst the pillars of the ancient gothic structure were decorated with boughs of trees, intermingled with bouquets and garlands of flowers.

Early in the morning of the auspicious Sunday, the militia assembled to guard the avenues leading to the temple. The whole rural population capable of locomotion, chiefly women and children, the men being under arms at their different posts, collected like a vast army on the beach within view of the castle; while the townspeople occupied every window, every house top, every wall, every favourable point, from whence a glimpse of the royal progress was to be obtained.

The principal gentry on horseback, amounting to little less than a hundred cavaliers, proceeded to the castle to escort the Prince as he issued forth from the gates. They were accompanied by a guard of honour consisting of 300 musketeers, the governor's brigade, who, when the procession was formed, marched in the van, "drums beating, colours flying." The crowd of spectators made way as the soldiers moved forward, forming a dense wall of human beings on either side of the road from the castle to the church, through which avenue of animated nature, the Prince, his lords and other attendants, proceeded without impediment or inconvenience. Dense masses of the populace closed up the rear, but were prevented from intruding into the cemetery, by the soldiers already forming a cordon around it.

His royal highness, having entered the sacred edifice,

took his place on the chair of state; the lords in waiting seated themselves on benches immediately behind him, and the remainder of the suite stood around them: the prince and his attendants all uncovered. The service throughout was performed in English by one of the Doctors of Divinity attached to the court; and although the congregation which thronged the church, understood scarcely a single word, they paid the greatest attention, and observed the utmost order and decorum. Doctor Poley, the royal commissioner, stood at the right hand of the prince, handing him the service book during prayers, and finding out for him those passages of scripture quoted by the officiating doctor in the course of his sermon.

The service being ended, the royal procession returned in the same order to Elizabeth Castle; escorted as before by the cavaliers and the guard of honour. Similar formalities were observed whenever his highness attended service in the town church, which was performed henceforth by one or other of the English chaplains on Wednesdays and Fridays, as well as on Sundays. Occasionally his highness took the sacrament at St. Helier's, and fascinates our precisian journalist by his devout bearing.[1]

In process of time it was found inconvenient for the prince to cross over from the rock-built castle to the town, especially when the tide was high and rough as it often was, even in summer. Sir George therefore caused the old priory to be reconverted into a place of worship,

1 Charles had not yet learnt to be a scoffer, or if he had, stood too much in awe of the severe Chancellor to indulge in such propensities. If Hyde, as Charles himself admitted when he became king, used to snub him whenever he ventured to speak at the council-table, how much more likely was he to reprove the school-boy prince, so completely held in subjection, at this period.

without depriving it of its laical character as a cider cellar, granary, and battery. The parapets remained intact, but a flooring with a raised platform was laid above the cellars, and a vaulted ceiling, plastered with lime and sand was formed beneath the granary, a pulpit for the officiating minister was erected; pews (*bancs clos*) were constructed for the prince and his council, and behind them open forms were placed for the officers of the household. The whole was whitewashed and painted neatly, as became a chapel royal. A metal founder, previously imported from France to cast mortars and other brass ordnance, was employed in casting a bell to summon the courtly congregation to devotion; and when all was completed there was no longer any necessity for the prince to be ferried across the water, from the islet to the island, unless on grand occasions.

These details being somewhat prematurely given, we must return to the 27th of April, when lord Digby unexpectedly arrived in Jersey, in a small man-of-war, of about 140 tons, pierced for eighteen guns, but only mounting twelve. In other words, she was armed *en flûte*, for, besides marines and passengers, including his lordship's friends and servants, she had on board 107 Irish soldiers.[1]

Lord Digby, continues Chevalier, being in Ireland when the news came there of the Prince of Wales having retreated to Scilly, embarked 300 soldiers in three

[1] We learn by letters from the agent at Paris to the committee of both kingdoms, and from Digby himself that this frigate, the same wherein he came out of Ireland, was called the Saint Francis of Dunkirk; one of the fastest sailing vessels in the world, but otherwise of no great defence, carrying only ten or twelve pieces of ordnance, and 100 soldiers for Jersey.—See Cary's Memorials, i. 60.

frigates,[1] and sailing from the port of Waterford, hastened to his assistance. Finding, when he reached Scilly that his highness had already departed, and that the castle there was no longer in want of soldiers, he sent back two of his frigates to Ireland, and in the third followed the Prince to Jersey.

The town being already crowded with the prince's followers, and strangers arriving daily from all parts, it became difficult to find accommodation for the new-comers; bare lodging was to be obtained, it is true, but beds were not to be procured for love or money. In this dilemma, Sir George removing a sufficient number of his highness' suite to St. Heliers, quartered them in the houses of the country gentry, in order that Lord Digby and his friends might occupy the apartments vacated by them.

As to the Irish soldiers, there was no knowing how to

[1] Clearly the result of the following application to the Marquis of Ormond from Sir Edward Hyde himself, dated (Scilly) the 8th of March. "The Prince very earnestly desires your Lordship to send him three companies of 100 in each company, for his guards, armed (if possible) with firelocks, otherwise with musquets, and for the transportation of them hither, his highness will speedily send a ship to Dublin, against which time he hopes the men will be ready."—Carte's *Ormond*, vol. iii. p. 451. The Lord Lieutenant having a couple of frigates ready, embarked the men and their officers at once, "and the Lord Digby (who always concluded that that was fit to be done, which his first thoughts suggested to him, and never doubted the execution of anything which he once thought fitt to be attempted) put himself on board these vessels, resolving that, upon the strength of his own reason, he should be able to persuade the Prince, and the Council which attended him, forthwith to quit Scilly and repair to Dublin."—(Clarendon, State Papers, Supplement, p. lvii.) The three frigates mentioned in the journal, are accounted for by the fact cursorily alluded to in one of Digby's own letters: "they (the Council of Kilkenny) will likewise find a ship of provisions for the men."—See Carte's *Ormond*, vol. iii. p. 456.

dispose of them, "d'autant que les Irois sont un peuple haï sur toutes les nations." The islanders hated them as papists; and having imbibed from their late parliamentary associates the feeling of aversion generally entertained towards the very name of Irishman at this period, objected to receive them as inmates on any terms. The governor, conscious that, if he insisted in billeting Digby's men in the town, incessant broils between them and the inhabitants would be the consequence; and shrewdly suspecting that they were in reality, as they afterwards proved to be, a lawless turbulent set of fellows, determined to keep them on ship board until an opportunity occurred for sending them back to their own country.[1] They were not, however, to be got rid of so readily as he imagined, for Lord Digby in a short time set off for Paris, leaving his frigate and his soldiers behind him in Jersey, where they remained an indefinite time, to the great annoyance of the islanders, as we shall see hereafter.

On the 29th of April, various incidents took place in Jersey, which are not entirely devoid of interest to

[1] N. N. the parliamentary agent before quoted, writes: "the other vessel that came with them, and wherein there was two hundred men, having been sent back to Scilly by Digby, after he had tried in vain to persuade the governor (of Jersey) to take these two hundred men into the fort, for the reinforcing of the garrison, for which end he had brought them expressly with him: to which desire of Digby, the governor was so far from condescending, as he would not suffer those soldiers, or any part of them, so much as to land; pretending that the island was very bare of provisions, and had been altogether beggared by the Prince and his troops." Chevalier mentions but one frigate, and says that Digby, when he found the Prince had quitted Scilly, sent two frigates (*i. e.* one frigate and a tender) with 200 men back to Ireland. He is so careful a recorder of the arrival and sailing of ships that he would scarcely have failed to notice even the transient appearance of a second frigate accompanying Lord Digby.

"snappers-up of unconsidered trifles,"—the first to be mentioned being all but a royal progress. Prince Charles, whose visits to *terra firma* had hitherto been restricted to the precincts of the town, is, at length, permitted by his tutelary council to take an excursion on horseback into the interior. At an early hour in the morning, the tide being at ebb, he defiles along the causeway, leading from Elizabeth Castle to the shore, accompanied by his lords in waiting, a detachment of household troops, and a large party of native gentry. After making a detour to view the country, he arrives, according to previous arrangement, a little before noon in the vicinity of the old fortress of Mount Orgueil. A salute is fired from the battlements to announce the approach of the royal visitor, who alights at the gate, and is welcomed with every token of respect by Colonel Carteret, the lord of St. Ouen's, lieutenant of the Castle. His highness is shown about the place, takes a glance at the adjacent coast of France, where his presence is so much desired, and then condescends to partake of a repast previously prepared for him.

In the meantime Sir George is making preparations to entertain his highness with a grand militia field-day. For this purpose he has ordered all men capable of bearing arms, from fifteen to seventy years of age, to muster in their several districts, preparatory to a general rendezvous. At the appointed hour, the independent companies of infantry and artillery concentrate in one body, at a certain spot between *le boulevard de St. Laurens*, et le *douït de Ste Croix*, in St. Aubin's bay. The musketeers and pikemen are formed into three battalions, four associated parishes in each, and the artillery is combined into a corps of reserve. One regiment is commanded

by le seigneur de la Trinité; the second by Colonel John Dumaresq; the third, the regiment of St. Ouen's, awaits its hereditary chieftain, who also, by feudal right, is to take the command of the whole brigade as soon as he is released from personal attendance on his royal guest, during his refreshment at Mount Orgueil.

About two o'clock in the afternoon, his royal highness the Prince of Wales, accompanied by his lords, esquires, and gentlemen, arrives on the field, and proceeds to review the militia, drawn out in full array. He first of all inspects each battalion in detail, company by company; they then deploy, and as the prince rides along the line, the soldiers shout "Dieu sauve le Roi et le Prince," whereupon his highness, at each repetition of this loyal cheer, lifts his beaver, and bows with courteous affability. He has been well drilled into this kind of miltary salutation in Devonshire and Cornwall.

The lord of St. Ouen's has, in the meantime, taken his station on the right wing of the line, and when his highness rides up to the head of the brigade, he approaches at a given signal, drops on one knee, and presents the hilt of his drawn sword. The prince alights, asks him his name, to which he replies, Philip Carteret; whereupon his highness takes the proffered sword, waves it gracefully (*bellement*) over the head of the kneeling officer, touches him lightly on the shoulder with the naked blade, and exclaims, "Arise, Sir Philip Carteret." And thus is Colonel Carteret knighted triumphantly at the head of the insular army by the Prince of Wales, amid the acclamations of the soldiers, and innumerable spectators, — two-thirds, at least, of the islanders being assembled to witness the ceremony.

The prince and his staff now take up a position in front of the troops; various evolutions are performed; the musketeers fire three vollies, between each of which the field pieces roar out a salvo, whilst the dragoons career across the sands, charging an imaginary enemy. The officers of the different corps are then called to the front, and presented severally to the prince, who, as he sits on horseback, holds out his right hand, which they kiss with the usual formality of genuflexion. The business of the day is virtually ended, but while the troops are still in line it is announced to them that his highness bestows a largess to be distributed among them in token of his approval of their discipline and conduct, and as an encouragement to them to remain steadfast in their allegiance to his royal father. This announcement is followed by a spontaneous *feu-de-joie*, and loud bursts of applause; the soldiers are then dismissed, in anticipation of a jovial carousal in honour of the King and the Prince, and the young generalissimo returns to Elizabeth castle.[1]

The soldiers, however, are grievously vexed when they find that their officers retain a portion of the largesse, and dole out the rest sparingly and unfairly. The prince had assigned 300 livres tournois for distribution among the men of young Sir Philip's regiment, and Sir George's chosen corps, together with 600 livres to the other regi-

[1] "The question naturally arises, whence does the Prince obtain the money of which he is so liberal? The reply is to be found in a letter from Sir Edward Hyde, who writes thus to Secretary Nicholas: "The wisdom and integrity of the governor, (who is an excellent man and a right gentleman) and the affections of the people so great and exemplar, that within a week of his (highness) coming hither (he not having 20*l.* in the world) they lent him 1500 pistoles for his support and expense."—See Clarendon State Papers, vol. ii. p. 287.

ments. These sums, duly apportioned, would have yielded thirty-three sous four deniers to each man; instead of which, the first-mentioned corps only receives a bounty of ten sous per man, and the musketeers, halberdiers, pikemen, and substitutes belonging to the other regiments, only get three sous each. This act of injustice occasions much murmuring and discontent, but leads to no ill consequences.[1]

Whilst this squabbling is going on between men and officers, the unconscious prince reaches the gates of his sea-girt habitation; he has no sooner entered his quarters than he learns that Lord Culpepper has just arrived from Havre with his two Dunkirk frigates, one of twenty-five, the other of four-and-twenty pieces of ordnance. They have cast anchor in the roads, salutes are interchanged between the castle and the men-of-war, and his lordship lands in the midst of smoke and din. He is cordially welcomed by the prince; no less cordially by his colleagues of the privy council, who are in great perplexity. Mr. Progers is recently arrived from France, bearing that memorable letter from the queen, dated Paris, the 5th of April, 1646, written in cipher to the chancellor of the exchequer.[2]

Under the impression that her son is still at Scilly, her majesty informs the chancellor that she shall not

[1] A somewhat similar incident is related by Mrs. Hutchinson: "The governor," says she, "being then in the committee-chamber, told them it was fit the soldiers should have a reward, whereupon it was ordered to give them six pounds, and the governor told them the committee had assigned them a reward. But when they came to receive it, Salisbury, the treasurer, tithed it out, and gave the soldiers a groat a piece and sixpence a piece to the officers; at which the soldiers, being mad, flung back his money, and desired a council of war to do them right."—Life, Bohn's edition, p. 215.

[2] Hist. of Reb.

sleep in quiet[1] until she hears that he has removed from thence; that she has provided present provisions, shipping, and money for his removal to Jersey, where she promises that he shall want for nothing. "Besides, for the satisfaction of others," she continues, "I have moved the queen regent to give assurance that if the Prince, in his way to Jersey, should be necessitated by contrary winds, or the danger of the parliament shipping, to touch in France, he should have all freedom and assistance from hence, in his immediate passage thither; which is granted with great cheerfulness and civility, and will be subscribed under the hands of the French king, and queen, my brother, and Cardinal Mazarine: therefore I hope all scruples are now satisfied."

From certain passages in this letter, the council, that is, Hyde, Capel, and Hopton, flattered themselves that, by bringing the prince to Jersey, they had not only acted in conformity to the queen's wishes, but had anticipated her intentions. As soon, however, as the Lord Culpepper came, "they plainly discerned, that letter had been written upon advice to Scilly, foreseeing that an immediate journey into France would not have been submitted into, and that the instrument mentioned for his highness's quiet and uninterrupted passage through France to Jersey, was only a colour, the sooner to have invited the prince to have landed there, if there had been any accidents in his passage; but that the

[1] We should be inclined to regard this phrase as a merely figurative, not unfrequently resorted to, in order to gain an end, did we not learn from other sources that sleeplessness was one of Henrietta Maria's constitutional peculiarities. In the present case, it is not unlikely that this idiosyncracy of hers was aggravated by anxiety lest her son should fall into the hands of the rebels, and by her still greater anxiety to gratify the Cardinal in inveigling the prince to Paris.

resolution was, that he should not then have come to Jersey, as it was now that he should quickly come from thence."

In a short time Lord Jermyn transmitted a letter, he had received and deciphered, from the king to his son, in which his majesty unconsciously betrayed the intrigues of the queen's party, by assuming that the prince was by this time safe with his mother. This was accompanied by "very passionate commands from her majesty," to whose views Culpepper had become a convert during his brief sojourn in Paris. "His lordship, although he expressed his change of opinion tenderly, out of regard for his colleagues, was nevertheless strenuously in favour of the prince's going immediately to France; and privately so wrought upon his highness that he became as averse to remaining in Jersey as he had previously been disinclined to leaving it."

The anti-Gallican members of the council hereupon represented to the prince that, as the king's future movements were uncertain, and as the conduct of the French court throughout, rendered their sincerity, to say the least, questionable, it would be advisable for them to make "some public declaration on his majesty's behalf, before the heir-apparent of the crown should put himself into their hands."

By these and other arguments, they succeeded in prevailing on the prince to postpone his departure, until the Lords Capel and Culpepper had been sent to the queen to impress upon her the security of Jersey as a place of refuge; and to beseech her majesty not to insist on the prince's removal from thence, until the king's position, the affections of his English subjects, the resolutions of the Scots in England, the

strength of Montrose in Scotland, and the condition of Ormond in Ireland, should have been determined.

On Monday, the eleventh of May, Chevalier informs us that the governor's galley, under the command of Captain Jelf, set sail from the harbour of Mont Orgueil, conveying my Lords Capel and Culpepper to the coast of Normandy. These lords were on their way to Paris, bearing despatches from the prince to the queen, and furthermore charged to kiss hands and present her majesty with assurances of humble duty on the part of the noblemen and gentlemen attached to the suite in Jersey. The galley returned the following day, having on board Sir Dudley Wyatt and other gentlemen, who had been waiting on the opposite shore in expectation of a conveyance to Jersey. They came from Paris, and were the bearers of letters from the queen to her son.[1]

Three of these are doubtless the letters contained in the Clarendon State Papers, the fourth has been omitted from that publication; we venture therefore to insert a portion of it, as well as a reprint of one of the former, as they both bear testimony to the accuracy of our manuscript journal, and bear upon the existing state of affairs in Jersey:—

"Her Majesty to the Prince of Wales.[2]

"DEAR CHARLES,

"Having received a letter from the king, I have dispatched this bearer Dudley Wyatt to you with the

1 "Within two days after the two lords were gone for Paris, Sir Dudley Wyat arrived with the news of the king's being gone out of Oxford, before the break of day, with only two servants, and to what place uncertain."—Hist. of Reb. book x.

2 State Papers, vol. ii. 230.

copy of the letter; by which you may see the king's command to you and to me. I make no doubt but you will obey it suddenly: For certain your coming hither is the security of the king your Father. Therefore make all haste you can to shew yourself a dutiful son, and a careful one to all that is in your power to serve him; otherwise you may ruin the king and yourself. Now that the king is gone from Oxford either to the Scotch or to Ireland, the Parliament will with all their power force you to come to them. There is no time to be lost; therefore lose none, but come speedily. I have written more at large to my Lord Culpeper,[1] to shew it to your council. I'll say no more to you, hoping to see you shortly. I would have sent you Henry Jermyn, but (he) is going to the Court with some commands from the king to the queen regent. I'll add no more to this, but that I am your most affectionate mother

"HENRIETTE MARIE, R."

"St. Germain ce 17 (7) May."

"Lord Jermyn to Lord Culpepper.[2]

"S Germayns May 1646.

"MY LORD,

"The Queen hath by this post received leters from the King. The copy of one she sends you by this bearer, and doth besides write herselfe as muche as needs be sayed to the purpose of the Prince's comming hither. We have by other wayes that the King went out of Oxford with three only in his company, on Monday last

[1] This letter is in French, somewhat indignant and peremptory: what Hyde calls "very passionate;" it is to be found in the State Papers, as well as the copy from the king to his "dear heart" the queen.

[2] From the Clarendon MSS. in the Bodleian Library.

was senet, at two o'clock in the morning. The three that wear with him, wear Mr. Ashbornham, a servant of my Lord Digbye's, and a servant of Mr. Ashborneham's. Since his going away thear is noe news of him; nor in his leters any more light in his intentions than you will find in the leter you will receaue the copy of now. I hope he is gonne to the Scotche, but can not be assured of it, I mean of the intention. If he have attempted it the passage is not without many hasards; if he be gonne any other way I am confident he hath exposed himself to more, upon the result of whiche you see in how great danger he is of falling in to his enemie's hands, and consequently how necessary it is to keep the Prince from all possibility of the same. But the King's commands are so positive in this matter that they have neither liberty to dispute, nor need of adding any other reason. I will therefore trouble you noe more, but take up the rest of your time in that whiche concearns myself, intreating you most earnestly agayn, as I did before to make my excusse to the Prince that I doe not yet atend him. I have not yet bin at the Court since it removed from Paris, but am goeing within two dayes.[1] . . . .

"HE. JERMYN."

These letters called forth a voluminous epistle from Hyde, dated Jersey, the 20th of May, 1646,[2] in which he points out to Lord Jermyn the inconveniences and

[1] The secret agent at Paris writes on the 15th of May: "The French court being still in Picardy, Jermyn went down to them from Saint Germains on Wednesday last in a coach and six horses, to carry them this news, knowing it would be most welcome to them, especially that of the rupture between the English, and the Scots, as being not only a thing they have extremely desired, but in a manner their own worke." —Cary's Memorials, vol. i. p. 34.

[2] State Papers, vol. ii. p. 231.

mischiefs which he believes will inevitably befal "the king, queen and prince, and consequently the Crown and the cause, if this repair into France should be so speedy as is pressed, or before he be really compelled by some attempt of the rebels, (and then it is not his own act), or such pregnant advantages be presented to him, for his so doing, as may weigh down lesser considerations." He further says: "Sure no honest man in his wits can think fit that the Prince should bury himself in this obscure island from action. I wish action were as ready for him, as he is for it; but the question is only, whether it is more honourable to be without action in this island or in France. Let me speak a word now to you," he continues, "of the fruit and inconvenience of his residence here. He is within the king's own dominions, and in his own power, free from the least imputation or blemish that malice itself can suggest against him; and so in a much more honourable a condition than he can be in the Court of any foreign Prince; and as he is assured of the affections, addresses, and assistance from England, so I conceive him more capable of the compassion and supplies of other Princes, and allies, whilst he is here, than in France; and I am not able to tell myself, why he might not more reasonably expect aid even from France, when he is here, than when he is at Paris . . . The island itself is not to be attempted without a very great force, and, being lost, the Prince's remove into France is most easy and most safe. And of this we have as great assurance as can be given, the unanimous consent of all persons upon the place, who understand things of that nature."

In the midst of this controversy, as to the disposal of the young prince, and whilst Culpepper, in whom the

queen had an excellent solicitor, was pleading earnestly for his highness' immediate removal to France, Lord Digby was equally importunate for his going into Ireland. Between them both, the conservative members of the council must have been grievously tormented, especially Hyde, who, annoyed at Digby's interference, speaks of him in terms which lead to the inference that the particular friendship he says Digby entertained for him was by no means reciprocated. "He was a man," writes the offended chancellor, "of a haughty and phantastical humour and nature, with a perplexed understanding; all his faculties being disposed principally to make easy things hard, and to create difficulties out of the most clear, and manifest consultations.[1]

"On his coming to Jersey he lost no time in informing his highness of the happy state and condition of Ireland; that the peace was concluded, and an army of twelve thousand men ready to be transported into England; of the great zeal and affection the lord lieutenant had for his service, and that if his highness should repair thither he would find the whole kingdom devoted to his service; and thereupon positively advised him, without further deliberation, to put himself aboard those frigates, which were excellent sailers, and fit for his secure transportation."

The prince was prompted to reply that it would be incongruous to adopt so important and decisive a step until the return of his messengers from Paris, and until the king's pleasure could be ascertained. This reasonable answer not proving satisfactory to Digby, who was

[1] The severity of Clarendon's strictures on the character and conduct of that nobleman is to be accounted for, by the fact of their being written at Montpellier in 1669, about six years after his impeachment for high treason by Digby, then Earl of Bristol.

never at a loss for an expedient, however rash, he proposed that Hyde himself should concur in a scheme to abduct the prince even without and against his consent. On being requested by Hyde to explain a scheme which did not strike him as being either feasible or proper, he replied, "that he would invite the prince on board his frigates to a collation; and that he knew well he could so commend the vessels to him, that his own curiosity would easily invite him to a view of them; and that as soon as he was on board he would cause the sails to be hoisted up, and make no stay till he came into Ireland."

On the chancellor's indignant rejection of so audacious a proposal, Digby, "as he had a most pregnant fancy," immediately devised another line of conduct, "and resolved with all possible expedition to find himself at Paris, not making the least question but that he should convert the queen from any further thought of sending for the prince into France, and as easily obtain her consent and approbation for his repairing to Ireland; and he made as little doubt, with the queen's help, and by his own dexterity, to prevail with France to send a good supply of money by him to Ireland; by which he should acquire a most universal reputation, and be the most welcome man alive to the lord lieutenant; and transported with this happy auguration he left Jersey; leaving at the same time his two ships, and his soldiers, and half-a-dozen gentlemen, (who upon his desire and many promises had kept him company from Ireland,) without one penny of money to subsist on during his absence."[1]

[1] There is every reason to doubt the accuracy of these details, as well as that of Clarendon's dates. We find from N. N.'s letter, that several

Whilst the three lords are occupied in political negotiations and intrigues at St. Germain's and the French court, we shall remain in attendance on the prince, employed in watching proceedings, and reporting progress.

Although it had been represented to the queen, in the instructions despatched by Capel and Culpepper, that the island was all but impregnable, Sir George Carteret deemed it expedient to take every precaution against a surprisal; for the parliament's ships dispersed by the storm of Scilly, after refitting, might rally and pursue the prince to Jersey; a contingency alluded to as probable in Captain Amy's letter to Hyde,[1] which about this time came to hand.

The states were accordingly assembled, and an ordinance was issued, for every point on which it was possible for an enemy to land to be strongly fortified, before the expiration of three days, by the casting up of ramparts. The militia were directed to muster on the fourth day, in order to subscribe to another oath of

Irish gentlemen, viz. Nicholas White, Sir Daniel O'Neil, and Captain Michael (Milo ?) Power, accompanied Lord Digby to Paris; three at least out of the half dozen who kept him company from Ireland; the rest remained in charge of the Irish soldiers, and were maintained nominally by the Prince, virtually by Sir George Carteret. The same letter, dated Paris, May 15th, old style, alludes to the presence of Lord Digby at St. Germains, some days before; Chevalier states that he arrived on the 27th of April in Jersey, where he remained but a short time, and was conveyed to France in the governor's galley; whereas it is asserted in the History of the Rebellion, that he came to the island two days after the departure of Capel and Culpepper, who left on the 12th of May. Clarendon also insists on Digby's *two* frigates, Chevalier mentions but *one;* and Digby himself, in a letter to the Marquis of Ormond, from France, writes as follows:—"I intend to begin my journey to-morrow towards Jersey, where my *fregat* stays for me."—See Life of Ormond, vol. iii. p. 475, and Cary's Memorials, vol. i. p. 36.

[1] *Ante*, p. 350.

allegiance;[1] notice was given that no musketeer should enter a tavern before muster, under a penalty of three groats; and that not a single fire-arm of any description should be discharged between sunset and sunrise, under pain of such corporal punishment as the lieutenant-governor should see proper to inflict.

The guards in town and at the outposts were reinforced; cavalry patrols were ordered to make the rounds at all hours of the night; and Sir George's own company of foot were appointed to do duty at Elizabeth castle, alternately with the regulars, as the prince's body guard, for which service each man was allowed five sous per day, besides rations.

The repair of St. Aubin's tower, which had been ordered by the states the preceding autumn, had as yet made no further progress than the accumulation of building materials on the spot. His highness, however, aware of its importance as an outwork, gave orders that repairs and alterations should be forthwith commenced. By the advice of his council he granted fifty pistoles for

[1] The subjoined oath was subscribed, on the 7th instant by the militia, and by private individuals on a subsequent day:—

"VOUS JUREZ par le Nom de l'Eternel, le Grand Dieu Vivant, qui a fait le ciel et la terre, que vous serrez fidèles et loyaux serviteurs à Notre Souverain Sire le Roi Charles, par la Grace de Dieu, Roy d'Angleterre, Ecosse, France, et Irlande, Defenseur de la foi, et cetera. ET AUSSI puis qu'il a plut à Dieu d'avoir préservé le Prince jusques ici, que vous repandrez votre vie, et votre bien pour le service du Roi, et la garde du Prince, au cas qu'il viendroit des forces du Parlément à l'encontre de liu, ou pour evahir l'isle de l'obeissance due à sa Majesté. Aussi vous jurez de faire tout devoir à les repousser, et y resister de tout votre pouvoir. Aussi vous ne hanterez, ni ne communiquerez en aucune manière avec ceux du parti du Parlément, sinon par permission du Prince, ou de deux de ses principaux Lords, ou du Lieutenant Gouverneur;—le tout comme vous en voudrez repondre au grand et terrible jugement de Dieu."

the purpose, and promised more money as the works advanced, and as more was required. He likewise directed that parochial rates previously levied for the repair of the fort should be remitted; not considering it just to the islanders, or compatible with the royal dignity, that the inhabitants should be taxed for the reparation of the king's fortresses.

In consequence of these arrangements, a considerable number of workmen were at once employed at the rate of ten sous each, per diem. His highness sent for an experienced engineer from France to direct them, and occasionally visited and inspected the works in person, attended by his captains. In a short time the rocks were scarped, and the tower heightened; new ramparts were made, in which casemates were formed; magazines and other essential buildings were erected; and the gateway previously commanded from the shore was blocked up, and another entrance, not liable to annoyance from the land, was constructed.

A short time after Sir Thomas Fanshawe's official visit to Castle Cornet, Sir Peter Osborne wrote the following formal application to be relieved from his irksome command.

"Sir Peter Osborne to ——.[1]

"Sir,

"I write this to yo[r] self under the confidence you have given me, beseeching you to consider what I have put into your trust,—much dearer then my life; whereof I

[1] The original is a rough draft in Sir Peter Osborne's handwriting, without date or superscription, but probably addressed to Sir Thomas Fanshawe, as we shall find from Prince Charles' reply to his application for removal from Castle Cornet.

cannot hope, with others, for little consideration, when I see none had of my sonne, thus neare his Highn. protection, I having lost his brother so lately in the King's service. I beseech you, therefore, not to transfer the care of me into other hands y^t^ have comited my self into yours, and rely upon your assurance and integrity, not used to fayle your frend. I pray make way rather for my direct going to St. Malo, where I may awhile quietly recollect my self, and recover some patience for what I suffer, and foresee I am still lyke to do."

"The Prince of Wales to Sir Peter Osborne.[1]

"After our hearty comendacons. WE received yo^rs^ of y^e^ 6^th^ of Aprill by S^r^ Thomas Fanshawe, immediately upon o^r^ arrivall in this Island, together with an Accompt of y^r^ state, and condicon of that Garrison, and of y^r^ readynes in Compliance to our service to withdrawe yo^r^ selfe for some tyme from that Castle, and to leave y^e^ Comaund thereof to such other person as WE should thinke fitt under you to depute to that charge, which was likewise imparted unto Us by the said S^r^ Thomas Fanshawe, and which WEE cannot but take as a singular Testimony of yo^r^ affecon to our person, as well as y^e^ service of o^r^ Royall Father. WE have therefore herewith sent S^r^ Baldwin Wake (of whose fidelity and courage WE have received ample testimony) to be Liev^t^ Governo^r^ there, and shall preserve y^r^ just and legall right unviolated, and shall retayne a Princely memory of yo^r^ great services and Sufferings. S^r^ Thomas Fanshawe informs Us that you desire rather to repaire to St. Malo than to this Island, the which WE wholly referre to yo^r^ selfe, and

[1] Osborne Papers.

shall as soone as We are enabled give you some reall Testimony of o^r favo^r, and good inclinacoñ to you. And so We bid you heartily Farewell. Given at our Court in y^e Island of Jarsey y^e 4^th of May, Anno Dm̃ 1646.

"Charles P.

"By his Highn^ss Comaund in Councell,

"Ric. Ffanshawe."

"Sir Peter Osborne."

"Richard Fanshawe to Sir Peter Osborne.

"S^r,

"The Prince hath coñaunded me to recoñend from him this inclosed Comission to S^r Baldwin Wake to be signed by you,[1] to the end that, as his Highnesse resolves to preserve y^r right to that Governm^t unviolate, so all authoritie to S^r Baldwin Wake therein may proceed originally from you. The choyce of this person, so well knowne to y^u, and so likely to have been made election of by y^r selfe for such a purpose, not a little conducing to the preserving of that Right for y^u, though the mayne is his Highnesse engagement. I shall in what my brother intimates to y^u as to that w^ch concernes y^u for y^r present not fayle of being y^r most faythful remembrancer. And I doe assure myselfe that when his Highnesse shall be enabled (which he may shortlie bee, but truly is not as yet) He hath bowells and kindnesse for you, and will effectively consider the great necessities y^r great loyaltie

[1] A copy of this commission is in the Osborne Collection, endorsed: "S^r Peter Osborn his transferr of all his Power as Lieut Governor of Guernsey to S^r Baldwin Wake."

hath reduced y^{u} frõ so very plentifull a fortune.[1] Wth w^{ch} for the present I take leave to rest &c.

"RIC. FFANSHAWE."

"Jersey, 5th of May, 1646."[2]

[1] Besides the sequestration of his estate, Chicksand Priory, in Bedfordshire, Osborne was deprived of his place in the Exchequer, expended his money, and bartered his plate and other valuables to maintain the castle he so gallantly preserved, and to supply the wants of soldiers, who appear to have treated him with greater ingratitude than his ebullitions of temper warranted.

[2] This letter and its immediate precursor evince much delicate consideration for the feelings of the irascible but devoted old cavalier; nevertheless, the following document, the original of which is written on parchment, proves that Sir Peter's petition for sick leave was not altogether voluntary :—

"The Prince of Wales to Sir Peter Osborne.*

"CHARLES P

"Trusty and welbeloved: Whereas We have signified unto you our desire to withdrawe yourselfe for some tyme from that government, not from any fault We found in yo^{r} courage, fidelitie, or abilitie, of all which you seeme to Us to have given a most abundant testimony to all the world in y^{e} unwearied sustaining of above three yeares Seidge in Castle Cornett, in y^{e} midst of very great wants and difficulties within, and a busy Enemy without. But, for the composing of certaine Differences there, which might very much endanger that, his Ma^{ts} Castle, arising as may be supposed y^{e} impatience of so great wants in divers of y^{r} comon souldiers, and you in compliance of such our desire have, out of your zeal to his Ma^{ts} service and affecoñ to our person, assented thereunto, and by vertue of y^{r} Lres Pattents for that governm^{t} made, and left in yo^{r} place a Liev^{t} Governour of our recoñendation.

"These are to declare our kind and graciqus acceptance thereof, and that We shall ever esteeme it an addition to yo^{r} former services to y^{e} Crowne, and as such retayne it in our Princely memory. Hereby also assuring you in y^{e} word and honnour of a Prince, that this yo^{r} present withdrawing at our Request shall not be perverted to any damage or prejudice to yo^{r} legall title and interest in that comand, but that our self (God willing) shall cause you (when it may conveniently stand with his Ma^{ts} affaires) to be restored to y^{e} full, and actual possession of all y^{e} Power and Right there, which the said Lres Pattents invest you in. And haveing thus exprest y^{e} good oppinion We had of you, when we desired you to withdrawe your selfe, with y^{e} same we have

* Osborne Papers.

On the 12th day of the month, Sir Baldwin Wake set sail from Jersey with two of the Prince's frigates, having under convoy a vessel of fifty tons, laden with provisions for Castle Cornet. No sort of doubt was entertained of their reaching their destination without

of yo^r compliance therewith, and our resolution thereupon. We thinke fitt to adde that We are y more induced to that good oppinion by y^e Accompt you have given us this day * at large in our Councell of severall passages of yo^r cariages in that Castle exprest by many summons from y^e E. of Warwicke, and others, full of Threats and promises to fight or tempt you from yo^r Loyaltie; some of them being sent at a tyme of great Lownesse of his Ma^tie^s affaires; and by the copies of yo^r answers thereunto, at all tymes full of resolution and equalitie, all which we have heard read unto us, as also yo^r carefull and discreet overtures to y^e Islanders, and a Lre from our Royall Father bearing date y^e 23^rd of Jann. 1644 Signifieing his good understanding and gracious acceptance of yo^r service and his Royall intention to you for the same, referring the premiums to y^e severall foremencoñed papers remaining in yo^r Custody. Given under our hand and Seale at our Court at Jersey, the 16^th of June 1646.

"By his Highnesse Comaund in Councell

RIC FFANSHAWE."

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* We learn from Chevalier, that on the 29th of May, Sir Peter, who had been sent for by the Prince and his Council, arrived in Jersey. He obtained an audience at Elizabeth Castle, and throwing himself on one knee kissed his highness' hand, who with the other kindly helped him to rise; he then saluted Lord Berkshire and the other lords who welcomed him with great courtesy. Lord Hopton received him in his own house for some time, entertained him at his own table, and treated him with the highest consideration. Sir Peter afterwards went to a lodging in the country where he resided with his retinue, consisting of his chaplain, Mr. Sheaf, the old Porter of Castle Cornet, and two of his men whom he had brought over with him. But not being on good terms with Sir George Carteret, he soon found a residence in Jersey intolerable. Jealousy of long standing existed between the two governors; Sir George enjoying more power, assumed a degree of authority which Sir Peter, justly tender of his own honour, would not submit to. He therefore on the 9th of August retired to St. Maloes, where he sojourned some time, seizing every opportunity, notwithstanding what had passed, to assist in maintaining Castle Cornet for the king.

hindrance; for, although an armed ship of 800 tons burthen, and forty brass guns, most of them double culverins, lay moored, like a huge floating battery, upon the Guernsey sand-bank, ostensibly to protect the rebel island, and prevent supplies from reaching the royal fortress, she had hitherto offered no impediment to the free passage of the Jersey boats.

It chanced, however, that a couple of more active frigates had recently been sent over from the Parliament's squadron, for the purpose of convoying merchant vessels between England, France, and Guernsey; so that when the Prince's men-of-war hove in sight of the latter, they came unexpectedly upon an enemy of superior force, which immediately gave chase. Finding that it was useless to persist in making for Castle Cornet, Baldwin Wake, well accustomed to this sort of work, put about, and the three vessels returned with all haste to Jersey, closely pursued by the Parliament ships; which, when they found their adversaries safe under the guns of Elizabeth Castle, made their way back to Guernsey, and the following day set off for Cape Frehel, in order to convoy some merchant barques awaiting them at St. Maloes.

The day after the return of the unsuccessful expedition, the Prince and his council deemed it expedient to despatch a force sufficient to ensure the landing of the new governor of Castle Cornet, in defiance of all opposition on the part of the rebels. About sunset, therefore, on Thursday, the 14th of May, Sir Baldwin Wake in the Black Proud Eagle, with Bowden as his sailing-master, put to sea, accompanied by Lord Digby's frigate, the St. Francis, with the Irish soldiers still on board; Lord Culpepper's two Dunkirk men-of-war, and

the transport with stores and provisions. The squadron altogether mounted not less than ninety pieces of ordnance, and carried about 400 men, soldiers as well as sailors, all determined, says Chevalier, to land the supplies at the Castle, or perish in the attempt.[1]

They pursued their course prosperously during the night, aided by a favourable breeze, and calculated on getting into port long before the dawn of day. But before sunrise the wind lulled so as almost to becalm them, and a dense fog came on, which rendered it difficult for them to know how to steer. Nevertheless, the tide carried them forward, and they still hoped to reach the castle unperceived. A temporary and partial dispersion of the morning mist, however, revealed them to a sentry in the islet of Herm, and also to a parliamentary shallop lurking between Sark and the sand bank on which the guard-ship anchored. The islet and the shallop opened a fire upon the Jersey frigates, to which their guns quickly replied, and thereby the signal was given of an enemy being at hand. The drowsy crew of the *guarda-costa*, and the look-out men in Guernsey, were aroused; the former hastened to quarters, and the latter manned the guns in the shore batteries, in time to witness the arrival of the transport on the castle beach, just as the sun rose, and the fog, for a moment, lifted. An incessant interchange of cannon-shot now took place between the town and the castle, with little effect on either side, for, owing to the intervening haze, the guns were pointed at random.

The guard-ship, in the meantime, hoisted sail, and, guided by the reports of the guns, steered, as nearly as

[1] "Tous resolus de mettre les vivres au Chateau Cornet, ou de demeurer sur la place."

the density of the atmosphere would permit, towards the castle. Here she was encountered by the four frigates, each of which poured in their broadsides as she passed, but without much damage to her solid bulwarks. The double culverins, however, with which she returned the compliment, killed six men on board the hostile frigates, and wounded many others; whereupon, finding their light artillery no match for her heavy metal, they sheered off, and she gave chase. Digby's frigate, which brought up the rear of the retreating squadron, had some difficulty in getting out of range of the great ship's guns; but at length she got clear, and, coming up with the three others, all four crowded sail for Jersey, having fulfilled their mission by landing Sir Baldwin Wake,[1] and throwing supplies into Castle Cornet.

[1] Among the documents still in possession of the Andros family, there is a holograph from Prince Charles, referring to Sir Baldwin Wake; we transcribe it from Tupper's Chronicles :—

"The Prince of Wales to Amias Andros, Esq.

"After our hearty commendations. We have received so many testimonies by Sir George Carteret, and Sir Thomas Fanshawe, and otherways, of your affection to the service of our royal father, and your sufferings for that affection in the island of Guernsey, and your good service in the Castle there since the revolt of that island that we cannot but let you know the Princely sense we have of it, assuring you that we remember the same to your advantage.

"We desire that, for the present, you will not think of leaving that place, but assist Sir Baldwin Wake in the disposing the officers and soldiers to such cheerful performance of their duty, that we may have as much cause to thank them for their future service, as we have for their past sufferings. And if, after all things are well settled there, you shall desire to come hither to us for some time, we shall willingly consent to it: in the meantime, we desire to receive advice from you, whether you conceive that, without any addition, or attempt by force, a declaration from us of grace and favour to that island may have any influence on them towards the reducing them to their loyalty;

The guard-ship gave chase until the frigates were well in the offing; but, aware that she had no chance of coming up with them, she returned to her quiet station on the bank. It was, nevertheless, fortunate for the Prince's frigates that the parliamentary cruisers had previously taken their departure; had they remained in Guernsey another day, there would have been sharp work, the result of which might have proved serious to the Royalists.

Long after the retreat of the Jersey squadron, the roar of artillery re-echoed amid the islands, the strife between the castle and the town continuing to rage; not less than a hundred cannon-shot were fired by the former, and at least an equal number by the latter. But there is no record of killed or wounded on either side; neither can it be ascertained whether any casualty occurred on board the guard-ship, in consequence of the broadsides she sustained at the beginning of the fight.

The arrival of the new governor must have been an auspicious event at Castle Cornet: it afforded the soldiers unwonted recreation in the exercise of their vocation; and, when the excitement of the skirmish was over, a solid recompense awaited them. The prince, well aware that the mutinous spirit they had lately manifested arose from their not having received pay for some months, had entrusted Wake with a consider-

and, if so, by what way the same shall be attempted. So, not doubting of the continuance of your care and affections, we bid you hearty farewell. Given at our Court, in the Island of Jersey, the 4th of May 1646.

"CHARLES P."

"Mr. Andros, De Samares."

able sum in pistoles for the payment of arrears.[1] This money, duly apportioned and distributed among officers and men, afforded two pistoles and a half even to each private soldier, which very much encouraged the whole

[1] The subjoined money orders, and acquittances, from originals in the Bodleian Collection, belong to this period, and are inserted as vouchers for the general accuracy of the Jersey Chronicler, if for no other reason :—

"Mr. Fanshaw, pray doe me the favour to pay unto the bearer five hundred livers Ster^z and put them upon my accompt, and you will oblige your humble servant

"G. CARTERET."

"May the 7th 1646.

"Received the somme above mentioned by vertue of this noate the same day from Mr Fanshawe—by mee

"CLEMENT MONAMY."

"3 acquittances to Mr Fanshawe for necessaries for the P^r household, May 6th 1646."

"5th May 1646—Received of Mr Fanshawe the some of fifteene pounds sterling unon accompt of coals by him delivered to Sir Baldwin Wake for his highness service, I say rec :—

	lb		
	15	00	00

"RICHARD SMITH"

"May the 6th.

	English £	s	
Laid out for a rowle of Tobacco consisting of 22lb . .	1	6	
It. for 7 hens and a cock		9	6
It. for a Butt of Cider that Mr. Cornish hath procured, besides the cask, for us, and two hogsheads of Perry .	2	17	—

The cask will cost 16s more. BALDWIN WAKE"

"I will pay this bill on Saturday next in the morning to such as Sir Baldwin Wake shall appoint to receive the 5lb 8s. 6. . . . . The sum 5lb 8 6

RICHARD FANSHAWE"

"May 7th 1646. Received from Mr Fanshawe for cider and other things in this note mentioned, for his Highness' service the some of five pounds, eight shillings and six pence, I say rec . . . . . lb s d 5 8 6

OWEN SWINSON."

of the garrison, and called forth warm protestations of devotion and loyalty. They thenceforth passed their time more joyously in gaming and carousing, their pleasure not a little enhanced by the triumph they had achieved over Sir Peter, and the prospect of speedily getting rid of him.

The captain of the St. Francis, on his return from the encounter in Guernsey roads, finding it inconvenient to have so many soldiers crowded on board his frigate for such a length of time, landed about sixty of them, not the least troublesome it may be inferred, on the 23d of May. Sir George, not knowing well how to bestow them, for the aversion of the islanders was unmitigated, bethought himself of quartering them in a half-ruined chapel,[1] at *le Havre des Pas*, just beyond the town, where he furnished them with candles, and straw for bedding, but nothing else apparently. Other necessaries were provided at the prince's expense, and the soldiers went on certain days of the week to Elizabeth Castle, to draw their rations, consisting of bacon, poor-john,[2] biscuit and beer, of which they were allowed an abundance. Having a taste however for other articles of consumption and luxury, such as mutton, poultry, firewood, &c., they contrived to obtain them from the neighbouring farm-yards on easy terms—and without pecuniary outlay: such adepts at foraging and pilfering were these Irish soldiers. In order however to check their depredations, as much as possible, sentries were posted at the gate of their quarters during the day, and a double guard was placed over them at night.

About half-a-hundred of the Irish brigade still

[1] A building of mature age, even as early as the year 1341.

[2] Dried cod.

mained on board the frigate, awaiting the return of Lord Digby from Paris in order to be taken back to their own country. But his lordship remained away many weeks, and in order to keep the men in health, nine or ten were landed daily for an hour or two, to take exercise, precautions being adopted to prevent straggling or desertion, to which they were somewhat prone. Occasionally the whole corps assembled on the town hill for drill and parade, the soldiers armed some with firelocks, others with pikes and daggers, the sergeants with halberts, and the officers merely with swords.[1]

The 29th of May, being the anniversary of the Prince of Wales' sixteenth birthday, mighty rejoicings took place in Jersey, the loyalty of the islanders being the more enthusiastic in consequence of his highness's actual presence among them—a compliment to their fidelity which they were anxious to acknowledge. At an early hour in the morning, the day of jubilee was announced by a royal salute from the ramparts of Elizabeth Castle; the batteries along the coast, as far as St. Aubin's Tower, successively responded, and then the frigates in the bay. The booming report was no sooner wafted to the opposite extremity of the island than the heavy ordnance of Mont Orgueil re-echoed the salute, which was repeated by the artillery in each parish, interspersed with volleys of musketry by the infantry. The greater part of the militia then marched towards town, and assembling on

[1] Chevalier, always scrupulous as to details, furnishes us with a list of the officers and non-commissioned officers attached to the company of Irish, *e.g.*: Captain Brunton, of English extraction, but born in Ireland; Master James Welsh, gent.; Lieutenant Blandshaw; Ensign Welsh; two Sergeants, three Corporals, and one Drummer; names unknown to the deponent.

the sands before the fortress, in which his royal highness held his court, fired a general *feu-de-joie*, which was immediately taken up by the Irish brigade, paraded in full force and martial array, on the summit of the town hill, amid the ruined field-works of the expelled parliamentarians.

The remainder of the day was spent, by natives as well as visitors, in feasting and merry-making; and no sooner had twilight deepened its shadows into night, than all the eminences skirting St. Aubin's Bay, from one horn of the natural amphitheatre to the other, were crowned with blazing bonfires. The ships of the prince's squadron, Sir George's frigates, and the merchant vessels in the roads, hung out innumerable lights from their mast-heads, yard-arms, and rigging; whilst every window and embrasure in the neighbouring fortress was illuminated; the rays from these various sources, converging in one bright focus on the intervening strand, revealed the presence of a vast concourse of fascinated spectators. The artillery again began to thunder; the garrison of the castle, and every other inmate, mounted to the ramparts; the crews of the ships manned their shrouds, and the health of the King, the Queen, and his royal highness the Prince of Wales, was proclaimed and drunk with loud and reiterated cheers, in which thousands of loyal voices joined, almost drowning the salvos which thundered from the ordnance.

The prince, however, was not entirely engrossed in the contemplation of the rejoicings celebrated in honour of his birthday. Immediately after the morning *feu-de-joie* he had ridden forth to take a particular survey of some of the coast defences, by the advice of his council. Finding that a point on the south-eastern coast,

called *le banc de violet*[1] (the purple bank) was accessible to an enemy, he ordered that a fort, capable of mounting three or four pieces of ordnance, should immediately be built at his own charge.[2] He at the same time commanded that a block-house for two guns, and a magazine, should be constructed at Noirmont, the north-western headland, for the purpose of supporting St. Aubin's Tower and Elizabeth Castle in the protection of shipping entering the bay. Besides these, other fortifications of much greater extent and importance were on the eve of being commenced.

On the 1st of June, we find the titular Chancellor of the Exchequer inditing one of his confidential letters to Mr. Secretary Nicholas, from which we extract the following appropriate and characteristic passage:—

"Oh Mr. Secretary! I have not been well used since you and I parted, and truly I may, with modesty enough, say I have deserved to be more trusted than I have been;

[1] This bank, still called "the violet bank," but rather from the purple hue of the seaweed, than from any resemblance to a bank of violets, is a very extensive ledge of sand and shingle, skirted by dangerous rocks. It becomes insulated from half ebb of the tide, and at that time a landing may be effected, without impediment from the shore, but the troops would have to remain here until low water before they could gain access to the main island. This account of Chevalier's accords with that contained in Capt. Martin White's "Sailing Directions for the English Channel." It was here that the French landed unperceived in the year 1781, in consequence of which General Seymour Conway, Horace Walpole's friend and correspondent, caused a fort to be erected, called to this day Seymour Tower.

[2] The work was soon commenced, and when the foundations were being dug, the remains of an ancient fortification were discovered, the existence of which was beyond the memory of any man then living. Hyde, in one of his unpublished letters, introduced hereafter, alludes to the digging of the new fortification, and from the selection of the spot as a defensive post, it is evident that the Prince, or some one in the back-ground, had a correct eye for military engineering.

but, by the grace of God, nothing shall discourage me from doing my duty. We have been with strange importunity pressed, from the hour we came hither, to come into France, my lord Culpeper being converted in that point, contrary to what was formerly his opinion. But all the rest are resolved not to consent to it, but in case of danger; and then all men will sooner go thither, than suffer the Prince to be taken by the rebels; which we apprehend so little, that we conceive we can defend the island from any force the Parliament can bring against it; and when that is lost, here are two castles impregnable, from whence we can go into France, though the whole navy be about us. My lords Capel and Culpeper are gone with the queen to persuade her majesty to rest satisfied till we may send to the king, and receive his pleasure. After his majesty is sufficiently informed of all particulars, and the strength and constitution of this island, if anything be positively imposed upon us before that be done, you will hear that I have retired myself into a chamber in one of these castles, and study under Sir George Carteret, who truly is a very worthy person. For I will not be hurried by any command whatsoever into an action that I think will prove so pernicious to the King, Queen, Prince, and realm, as this unnecessary going of the Prince into France in my judgement would do, except better reasons be given for it, than I yet understand. We are all glad to hear of the king's safe arrival with the Scots, and of his honourable reception there."[1]

Preparations for acting with vigour on the defensive, in the event of an attack, still went on. The prince and his council having ascertained at the late general

[1] Clarendon State Papers, vol. ii. p. 236.

inspection of the militia that a considerable number of able-bodied young men were unprovided with suitable arms, determined to equip them. This they were well enabled to do, having brought over with them from the West good store of muskets, swords, shoulder-belts, bandoliers, and pikes; the Earl of Brentford had upwards of 200 firelocks; Lord Hopton six-and-twenty; Lord Capel twenty-five; and, in addition, Lord Digby had brought over a quantity of spare pikes.

The 3d of June was appointed for the distribution, and all the candidates, being mustered in their several districts by their captains, were marched into town and presented in sections before the Lieutenant-governor, who inscribed their names on a roll, and caused them to be examined as to physical capacity and competency in the use of arms. This being done, he assigned muskets, bandoliers, match and bullets, to the more athletic and expert; and to the weaker and more awkward he gave merely pikes, shoulder-belts, and swords. In this manner, before the close of the day, between five and six hundred men were embodied, all armed and adequately accoutred. Moreover, it was announced that the prince had placed a certain sum of money in the hands of the captains to be apportioned among the men by way of bounty; and it was signified to them that when on duty each soldier should be allowed pay at the rate of five sous per day, which gave them great encouragement.

The following day (4th of June) the prince despatched one of his frigates, the Doggerbank, under the command of Captain Dayman, to convey succours to Pendennis Castle. The Doggerbank, a fast-sailing craft with a fair wind, was completely armed and equipped for the dangerous service she was about to engage in. She

mounted, in addition to her usual complement of guns, four swivels; each of the crew was furnished with a musket and bandolier; and her lading consisted of beef, pork, codfish, rice, biscuit, wine, beer, cider, coals, and a good store of other articles required by a place so closely besieged as was Pendennis Castle. The garrison being sick and weakly, a number of soldiers draughted from the Irish company were also placed on board, and Sir Thomas Hooper embarked to take charge of the soldiers and provisions; the prince confiding to his care a good round sum in pistoles for the payment of the garrison, neither officers nor soldiers having received any wages for many months.

The circumstances which led to Sir Thomas Hooper's coming to Jersey, and the primary cause of his return to Pendennis, will best be explained in the following extracts from published and hitherto unpublished letters:—

"Sir Edward Hyde to Colonel Richard Arundel.

"My dear Richard,

"Sir Thomas Hooper arrived here on Saturday the 2d of May[1] with the many packets from Pendennis, most of them dated the 11th of April, though he said he came away from you above a fortnight after that time. . . . I do assure you there is not a man amongst you more solicitous for the safety of the place than the prince is for the safety of the man, it being understood to be not only a place of the greatest importance, towards the recovery of what is lost, but that the loss of it would reflect upon the prince himself, in point of honour, beyond a degree of reparation, and therefore was the prince's first care, when he came to Scilly, and

[1] This corroborates Chevalier's statement.—See *ante*, p. 359.

one of the greatest reasons for the sending my Lord (Culpepper) into France; but the winds were so contrary, that we heard not from them till we came to this island. That hour that Sir Thomas Hooker (Hooper) arrived here we were despatching a boat to the Mount with some provisions, and direction to remove the prisoner (Hamilton) hither. But the assurance he gave us of the loss of that place, put an end to the resolution.

"The day after his coming, the prince sent an express to the queen, with the list of the provisions you writ for, desiring a speedy supply of money proportionable to it, of which we doubt not; and resolved for the present to send this boat to you, with this little quantity which he takes out of the stores here, only as an earnest of his care; having sent two agents, the one to Morlaix the other to Rocoe (Roscoff), to freight out several barques from thence, being not willing to venture too much on one bottom. But, be assured, there is no more care taken to preserve the prince's own person, than there is, and shall be, to relieve that place diligently and seasonably; what shall be done not only with provisions and clothes for the soldiers, but with money for the officers, though for the present the prince is able to send only two hundred pistoles for the continuance of the work, and therefore keeps (Hooper) here to go away with the rest. This enclosed note contains the particulars;—a supply of ammunition you shall likewise speedily receive. . . .

"I am, dear Dick, yours, &c.

"Jersey May 15th, 1646." "EDW. HYDE."[1]

[1] "There are two lines not deciphered in the postcript, shewing in what part of the ship the money is to be found."—Cary's Memorials, vol. i. p. 49.

Another postscript *in dorso*.

"You may find by the former date of my letter that I expected these things should have been with you sooner, but several accidents have befallen the boat. (The Doggerbank?) I hope she will now come safe unto you, and then you will not be sorry for her stay, because she requites you with the good news of the king's safe arrival in the Scotch army. . . . . I can tell you that the prince hath sent two thousand pistoles to one Mr. Hitchcock, a merchant at Morlaix, for the making provision for (Pendennis) for the present: more money shall be sent him shortly. We have directed him to send such provisions as we suppose you most want. I believe you did not make any estimate of the list sent to the Prince by the council of war, which, without doubt, cannot be provided for six thousand pistoles.

"May 23." [1]

"Lord Jermyn to Lord Culpepper."

"St. Germains May 21—1646.

"My Lord,

"I have received the letter touching the relief of Pendennis; the Queen has had those from the Prince and lords to the same subject. She commands me to let you know that the importance of preserving the place is so great, and apparent, that, though she have at present no money at all, and therefore unable to satisfy the proposition wholly, she is, notwithstanding extremely desirous to do something that may give them some

[1] The first portion of this letter is published in the State Papers; the latter portion, that most essential to our purpose, is quoted from Cary's Memorials.

leisure to expect what may be hereafter done for that end. There being a merchant, one Hitchcock, at Morlaix, that has advertised me that upon my assurance of reimbursing him, he is willing to make any provision for Pendennis that he shall be ordered. I send you here enclosed, for the assurance of the said Hitchcock, a note to repay him again for anything, to the value of two thousand pistoles, that he shall either provide, or give credit for, upon order from yourself, and the rest of the lords of his Highness' council. For going in great haste to the court I shall trouble you no further till my return.

"HE. JERMYN."[1]

"To the Lord Culpepper at Jersey."

The particulars contained in the above letters account for the departure of the Doggerbank; for the sequel of her adventures we must have recourse to Chevalier, who informs us that her voyage was very unprosperous. Encountering bad weather soon after leaving Jersey, the vessel was driven towards Brittany and forced to take shelter in a small haven called Perraulx, where she remained some time waiting for a fair wind to resume her voyage to Pendennis. During her detention, Sir Thomas Hooper went to Morlaix to transact some business, and in his absence the greater part of the passengers spent their time on shore carousing. This being rumoured at Morlaix, the parliamentary agents, always on the alert for news relating to the doings of the royalists, got wind of it, and immediately sent information to their cruisers off Cape Frehel, that the

[1] Clarendon MSS.

Doggerbank was carelessly looked after, and might easily be surprised at her anchorage.

The commander of the parliamentary squadron, who had long been on the look-out, intending to pounce upon the unfortunate vessel the moment she quitted her refuge, lost no time in profiting by the hint which had been transmitted to him, and sent a frigate or two at once into the harbour of Perraulx. The few people remaining on board the Doggerbank fired some random shots, on the approach of the enemy; but conscious that it would be hopeless to engage in a contest, they jumped into their boats and escaped on shore. The vessel thus abandoned was immediately taken possession of by the rebels, who bore her away in triumph, leaving Sir Thomas Hooper, and those who had accompanied him, to shift for themselves in the best manner they could. In process of time many of them, including the Irish soldiers, made their way back to Jersey, where they brought intelligence of the disastrous fate that had attended the expedition.[1]

Early on Friday morning, the 5th of June, three enemy's ships were noticed hovering in the immediate vicinity of St. Ouen's Bay, apparently engaged in taking a survey of the landing-places. The peasantry along the coast being most of them fishermen or pilots, and well accustomed to recognise a ship "by the cut of her jib," soon made out that the intruders were the huge guardship usually stationed off Guernsey, and a couple of smaller frigates more recently come thither. This piece

[1] On the 12th of June, 1646, Whitelocke states, that "a ship was taken with ammunition and provisions for Pendennis Castle, and divers letters intercepted in her." This entry, doubtless, refers to the Doggerbank.—See Memorials, p. 214.

of information, being conveyed to the authorities in town, naturally excited considerable anxiety and alarm, lest these vessels might perchance be the precursors of a more formidable squadron.

It so happened that while the strangers were reconnoitring the western coast, the two men-of-war, which had attended Lord Culpepper to Jersey, were preparing to take their final departure. They had been hired from the Dunkirkers for a monthly stipend, which, forming a considerable item of expenditure, the council were desirous of retrenching; seeing, therefore, that their services were no longer required, now that the prince was in a place of safety, the council, with laudable prudence and economy, gave them their dismissal.

After firing a valedictory salute, out of compliment to the prince and the lords at Elizabeth Castle, they set sail, steering a north-westerly course; but just as they were rounding Corbière Point, they discovered the three ships from Guernsey bearing down under a cloud of canvass. The Dunkirkers, although no longer in royalist pay, were somewhat doubtful whether their recently acquired neutrality would be considered valid by the parliamentarians. By no means inclined to hazard an encounter in which nothing but hard knocks were to be gained, they very prudently reversed their course, and coasting along the shores of St. Clement and Grouville, cast anchor under the protection of the guns of Mont Orgueil.

The commodore of the enemy's squadron, intent upon ascertaining the cause of the cannonade he had heard as he lay off St. Ouen's, did not condescend to molest them, but hove to before Elizabeth Castle, where he remained for a couple of hours, keeping, nevertheless, well out of reach of shot. Unable to do any mischief,

he sought to vent his spleen by an insult to the prince, whose presence in the castle he was fully aware of; and for this purpose, and by way of bravado, displayed the parliament's flag, as much as to say to his highness, as Chevalier quaintly puts it: "Behold this man-of-war of yours, which, instead of being ready to serve you, defies your authority. What a pitiable plight for a prince who is heir-apparent of the crown, and whose mother was a great king's daughter; a prince, actually the second personage in Great Britain, to be thus cooped up in a corner of his father's dominions, by his own subjects, compelled to pocket affronts offered to him by his father's own ships!"

In the meantime he sent his frigates in chase of some fishermen pursuing their vocation in the offing; three small smacks were shortly captured, but no information of consequence being elicited from their crews, the commodore hoisted a signal, and the three vessels departed, taking with them the unfortunate fishermen and their boats. The boats were ultimately restored to them, but utterly despoiled of sails, masts, oars, lines, nets, and everything worth pilfering; even the very clothes worn by the owners were taken from them and exchanged for ragged apparel.

Petty depredations of this nature having been frequently committed of late by the parliament's cruisers, the governor and the royal court directed that, thenceforth, no vessels should leave Jersey until they had been searched, to ascertain that they contained no despatches, and conveyed no passengers likely to afford information of what was going on. It was likewise ordered that no craft, however small, should be permitted to quit the island either for the purposes of fishing off the coast, or of collecting sea-weed from the neighbouring islets

of Chausey or Ecrého, without a special pass from the captains of the parishes to which they belonged.

The next entry we meet with in Chevalier's chronicle is peculiarly interesting, as it reveals the early dawning of that propensity for nautical affairs which distinguished Charles in after life, almost as much as those of a less harmless character—a propensity so strongly developed as to cause him to declare that he would sooner, at any time, travel twenty leagues by sea than two by land. The incident we allude to may be placed beside the story of the wooden billet he cherished with so much fondness in his infancy; it exemplifies his original fondness for the sea quite as much as the aversion to taking physic, slyly expressed in his childish letter to my Lord Newcastle, evinces his early and lively sense of the ridiculous.

During the voyage from Scilly to Jersey his highness amused himself vastly with steering the frigate; he would remain for a couple of hours on a stretch at the helm, and could with difficulty be persuaded to resign it. One of his first commands on coming to Jersey was, that a barge should be forthwith built for him at St. Maloes; and, on the 8th of June, this barge arrived—Prince Charles's first yacht. She was a perfect model of a pinnace; of great length fore and aft; elegantly painted, and emblazoned with his highness's armorials; the stern-sheets were also fitted up with soft cushions for the royal helmsman and his courtiers. Provided with twelve pair of oars, and furnished with a couple of masts, and the like number of sails, she was as well calculated for sailing as for rowing, according to the state of the weather or the pleasure of the princely owner.

Never, after the arrival of his new toy, did the prince

condescend to cross the causeway, either on horseback or on foot; but whenever he and his lords attended worship in the town church, or whenever they visited the island for other purposes, his highness went over in his barge. He invariably steered himself; would never allow any other person to meddle with the tiller; and in this fashion he was wont to recreate for hours together. Up to this period, he had enjoyed few opportunities of disporting on the briny waves; for, even during his short sojourn at Scilly, the apprehension of being kidnapped by the parliamentarians would have prevented his freely indulging his seafaring tastes, even if the season had been favourable. But here, in Jersey, in the height of summer, secure from Commodore Batten's intrusions, in an extensive and lovely bay, landlocked and enclosed by chains of rocks as though it had been a lake, there was nothing to interfere with his enjoyment of his favourite pastime. The entire control of a boat to a lad of sixteen, whether prince or commoner, is no doubt a source of delight, to the full as intense as the proprietorship of a gun: "the first thing boys love after play" and pastry. The barge was carefully preserved after his highness's departure, and, on his subsequent visit to Jersey, we shall find that the king had not lost sight of the prince's yacht.[1]

About this time, the prince and his council deemed it expedient to increase the defences of Elizabeth Castle, at the suggestion of the engineer they had sent for from France; a good engineer, but somewhat of a poltroon, as we are informed by Hyde. The rocks all around were, accordingly, ordered to be scarped, so as to pre-

[1] We have Pepys' authority for using this word *yacht*. Charles the Second was the founder of the Royal Society, why not the originator the Royal Yacht Club?

vent their being readily scaled by an enemy; and the unenclosed space, beyond the existing fortress, to be surrounded by a rampart and a ditch. Moreover, a huge rock opposite the town, to the northward of the islet, and another which cropped out from the green sward on the surface, were ordered to be demolished; both of them being calculated to afford a lodgment to assailants, from whence they might annoy the upper as well as the lower ward with impunity.

It was a hard job to break up the compact granite from its bed by manual labour;[1] a man's work made but little show from day to day, but in process of time the task was accomplished. On the 19th of June this important fort was commenced; its walls, built of hewn stones, cemented together with lime and sand, resting on a foundation of natural rock. From causes unexplained—probably the want of money,[2] suggests Chevalier—the work, after proceeding steadily for a short time, slackened, and was abandoned altogether until the 4th of February of the ensuing year, when a number of hands were again employed, and the construction of the bastions made rapid progress from that period. We shall revisit them when they are finished; in the meantime we must draw the attention of the reader to the establishment of a mint in Jersey.

[1] It is evident from this, that the process of blasting rocks had not at that period been introduced into Jersey, even supposing it to be in use elsewhere, which is questionable.

[2] The money advanced for the commencement of the fortification is, most likely, the sum mentioned in a letter dated Paris, May 15th, from Augier, the parliament's accredited agent, to the Speaker. Augier is a different person from N. N. formerly quoted. "The Queen of England received, some weeks ago, three hundred thousand livres, whereof she sent one hundred thousand to the Prince of Wales, who, I am credibly informed will not go from Jersey until it be first known what shall become of the King his father."—Cary, i 44.

The Prince of Wales, driven out of England without resources, having nevertheless, at his own cost, to maintain soldiers and sailors; to provide for a host of needy followers; to build fortifications for his protection; and to defray the travelling expenses of the numerous messengers going and coming from all parts, was reduced to great straits at this period. Jersey could supply him but inadequately, and from France he could obtain but slender and uncertain assistance.

In order, therefore, to improve the state of his finances, and in some measure to provide for current expenses, it was resolved, at the recommendation of the council, that an establishment for coining bullion should at once be set up.[1] A house was accordingly hired in Trinity parish from one Michael le Guerdain, which was speedily fitted up with furnaces for fusing the precious metals, and with presses and dies for striking and stamping coin, under the direction and superintendence of one Colonel Smith, who was appointed Master of the Mint.

Chevalier goes on to state that the money herein coined consisted chiefly of pieces resembling English half-crowns, which passed current at thirty sous each. The obverse of these pieces, called St. Georges, was stamped with an effigy of the king on horseback, holding a drawn sword in his hand; and the reverse impressed with roses and harps, proper to the royal arms, interlaced with fillets, crosses, and other devices. Some shillings were likewise coined, and besides these a small number of Jacobuses, said to be worth twenty shillings apiece.

[1] In the year 1684, Charles the Second is said to have issued tin coinage; had he made it a legal tender in 1646, when it was plentiful and precious as an article of barter, the speculation might have proved profitable.

Whilst the Prince is occupied with his crucibles, his fortifications, and his new barge, we will turn our attention to the course of events in France, and inquire into the proceedings of Capel, Culpepper and Digby in their intercourse with the Queen, Lord Jermyn and Cardinal Mazarin.

We learn from R. Augier,[1] the parliamentary agent at Paris, and others of that party, that the Lords Capel and Culpepper arrived at St. Germain's a day or two after the news of the king's having joined the Scots had reached the ears of the queen. The royalists made great feastings on the occasion, some of the chiefest among them getting drunk, and Lord Digby came in time to be a partaker of their joy, and to build new castles in the air. Lord Jermyn took frequent journeys from St. Germain's to Paris, and from thence to Compiègne, to ascertain if possible the state of the political pulse, consequent upon the news of the king's flight and presumed safety. But finding the court *in transitu*, as it usually was, he followed it to Fontainebleau, where the Duke of Anjou had fallen sick of the measles in the palace, and had just been let blood, which was followed by the appearance of the eruption and a renewal of the fever.

Jermyn was marvellously welcome to them, the more so as, besides the news he brought respecting the king, he informed them of the cessation of arms in Ireland; and the design of sending from thence an army of 10 or 12,000 men into Scotland, or into the north of England, to join with the Scots. In order that they might enjoy the satisfaction of hearing the news more amply detailed, from the mouth of one who had been the principal instrument in bringing about the truce in

[1] Cary's Memorials, vol. i.

Ireland, the Court sent an express courier to fetch Lord Digby from Paris. The messenger arrived just as he had sat down to dinner, his lordship nevertheless immediately accompanied him to Amiens, whither the French court had then removed. Here he remained but a single day; quite long enough however to enable the wily Cardinal, well aware of his vanity and versatility, to work upon him by dexterous flattery and promises, so as to induce him not only to relinquish his design of taking the Prince along with him to Ireland, but to persuade him that, "it was absolutely necessary, since the crown of France resolved to wed the king's interest, that the person of the Prince of Wales should reside in France."

The following day Digby and Jermyn repaired to St. Germain's, having on their way being lodged and splendidly entertained, by express directions from the French court, at Chantilly, the kingly palace of the Prince of Condé. On Tuesday, the 19th of May, the day after their arrival, a grand council was held at St. Germain's, consisting of Lords Jermyn, Capel, Culpepper, and some few others, the Queen herself being the president.[1] Her majesty nominated Monsieur Bellievre, under the sanction of the Cardinal, as ambassador extraordinary from the Crown of France, to mediate between Charles, the Scots, and the Parliament; and it was stipulated that he should

[1] N.N., who writes this account is misinformed as to the results of the deliberations of the council: he asserts that "the matter was then solemnly resolved, and the day appointed for the departure of Digby and those with him to Jersey, to go from thence with the Prince for Ireland, with the first good opportunity of wind and weather. They do not," he continues, "apprehend any danger in that their passage, although they know the sea too full of parliament ships, because their frigate doth even outsail the Warwick, the swiftest of all the frigates that are in the parliament's service; as those gentlemen, who with Digby are come over in it, do tell me."—Cary's Memorials.

be despatched to England, upon the first notification of the landing of the Prince of Wales in any part of France. Mazarin caused 6,000 pistoles to be paid to Lord Digby, and although this sum was much less than the cardinal's magnificent promises had led him to expect, he was well content to depart alone for Ireland. Being entirely converted to the necessity of the Prince's coming to France, he promised the queen presently to convert all at Jersey to the same opinion.

Digby's departure for Jersey and Ireland was, however, delayed for some time, as we learn from a letter dated Paris, the 29th of May.

"The Agent at Paris to the Committee of both Kingdoms.[1]

"Sir,

"The day appointed for the departure of Digby and those with him, from Saint Germains to St. Malo and Jersey, was Tuesday last, and therefore he had given order to all the gentlemen of his train here in Paris, both those come with him out of Ireland, and those that he found here, (being a great many, most of them Irish, of which number my lord of Evagh, and Barron, the agent, are) to be at St. Germains by Monday last at night, at the very furthest, where he intended to be himself without fail by the same time from Paris, whither he was come back the next day, after the keeping the great council at St. Germains, mentioned in my last, viz. on

[1] "Letters from an agent, employed into France by the committee of both kingdoms, subscribed N. N. and directed to S. G. from Paris; the one ⅓ Maii 1646; another of ⅓ Junii Maii (sic) 1646; third of ⅓ Junii Maii 1646; were all this day read. Journals of the Commons June 6, 1646."—Cary's Memorials.

Wednesday, May 20th, accompanied with Jermyn, who returned to St. Germain's within two days after, having effected that for which he was come up with Digby, and taken order (by the authority which to that purpose he had received from the two queens) that the money allotted to the queen extraordinarily upon this last occasion, should be paid into the hands of Digby, as hath since been done. But Monday being come, and Digby now beginning to dispose himself towards his departure to St. Germains, news came to him that seventeen parliament ships were come to Jersey (Guernsey?); and although he would seem to make no account of that, and to be able, notwithstanding those ships, both to get into Jersey to the Prince, and to get from thence out with him, being confident, that if with his frigate the *St. Francis*, of Dunkirk, he can get but one ship's length before them, they shall never overtake him again; nevertheless it altered the resolution about his journey, he being gone down again to St. Germains the day after, viz. on Tuesday last, but not with a resolution to set out from thence for St. Malo presently, as before it was appointed; for he both left all the gentlemen, that are to accompany him on his journey, here at Paris, and is yet to return hither once more himself, viz. on Saturday next; when also the queen doth come up, I do not well know yet for what occasion, for that which it is given out, that it should be for to salute the queen regent at her return from the frontiers, is very improbable. * * * The queen to show herself very sensible of the great service done by Digby in Ireland, hath not only used him with all possible demonstrations of affection and honour, but allowed him, out of the moneys he carries with him for the king's use, a large sum for himself, wherewithal to

maintain a very stately train, and to keep constantly an open table for above one hundred gentlemen and commanders.

"Your humblest servant,

"N. N."

"Paris Mai 29, (o. s.) 1646."

In the meantime, Capel and Culpepper, finding that the queen was about to send peremptory commands for her son's joining her at once, prevailed on her, not without much difficulty, to postpone his removal from Jersey, until something more definite could be known relative to the king's present position and future prospects. To this proposition her majesty reluctantly assented, declaring, nevertheless, her positive determination that he should come to France, whatever the information might be. The following inedited letters from the Clarendon manuscripts, portions of the material from which the History of the Rebellion was produced, may prove interesting; being graphic sketches taken on the spot:—

"Sir William Davenant to Sir Edward Hyde.

"St. Germains June 2nd, 1646.

"Sir,

"I have since your invitation to trouble you with letters from hence, given you only the ease of not receaving any by the last expresse, and now I can not supply you with more of the publique, than that Montrelle (upon undoubted information) is upon the Borders, and with a force (although his horse be not proportionable to his foote) fitting to passe the Tweed; and the

same letters from London which assure us of the king's being at New-Castle, affirme a cessation of armes to be comanded by his majestie in Scotland; and that it is believed, by men in chief agitation, that his majesties comand will be obayed. Those letters likewise agree that the Presbeterian party in London are so much countenanced by the intire house of the lords, that they may prevayle to make the militia of the citty to divart the Independant armys from intercepting the retreat of the Scotch army, till it join with the rest of that nation.

"My lord Digbie, upon Monday, begins his journey from hence towards Ireland, and carrys with him (though not the most effectuall particular of his proposition) yet very effectuall satisfaction, and such as, he declares the French to be in earnest, and makes him promise the firth (*sic*) shall be shortly in action. I now forsake the pleasure of hoping to see you heere, because I perceave your last Embassadors are within a hayres breadth of prevailing to have the Prince stay at Jersey, and (between me and your Exce) I thinke the heate of sending for him, was out of affection to his person, after long absence, and fear of his safety. The latter being to be provided for, I believe I shall entertaine you this summer with an ill soile instead of good wine, but yet your friends constantly drinke your health, which is not despightfully waved by

"Your very affectionate, and *très humble* servant,

"WILL. DAVENANT."

"To the Right Hon^ble^ Sir Edw. Hyde," &c.

Lord Culpepper to Sir Edward Hyde.

"S[t] Germain 9[th] June, new stile.

"On Thursday at dinner time wee receaved your packett of the 23[rd] of May, with the prince his leter of the 24[th]. But wee neither saw Capt. Hawes, nor did you enclose Sir Th. Bursett (Basset) his leter, which you mention in yours, soe that (otherwise than to consider of means to gett the 2 or 3 companies of English) wee have noe light what to desire in particular concerning Silly. Neither cann wee doe any thinge in our instructions touchinge armes, men, or moneys for Jersey, (the Queen continuinge firme in her opinion that the Prince ought not to continue there) more than the promise of Lord Jermyn, that, at double usuries he will discharge my bill, that shall be charged uppon him for 400 pistolles: Thereby I hope you will gett that summe of Sir George Cartorite, or by his Assistance.

"The Queen remembreth her promise not to send any positive directions till she shall first have us againe in the pointe, yet she dayly takes occasion to say that she relyeth uppon the prince and his Councellors with him, not to omitt the first opportunity of comminge hither, in case of approach of such parliament forces as may endanger the Island. The businesse of Denmarke is much looked uppon, a leter later receaved from Cockerinn (agent there) yet the Queen doth not mislike Mr. Pooley[1] his jorney, but I doe not finde them here willing to disburse any money uppon those hopes, noe not so much as the charges of the jorney.

"The Prince's leters which wee have seene from London give us litle more light than the prints (which wee here-

[1] One of the Jersey Commissioners.

with send you, though wee hope you have them sooner then this leter). And that the Queen hath not hearde one worde from the King since he went oute of Oxford is a miracle to us, sure there is somethinge in it more than wee knowe. Winter Grante hath been ready to goe to the King, as soon as we know the Scotts will admitt any of the King's friends. But his jorney must be secrett. The next weeke will probably produce something of moment felt to steer our Counsell, which is our principall cause of our present stay here. Excuse us for not writing to the Prince (this day sevennight wee wrote to him, but had not time to thinke of you) and remember our service to my lords.

"J. C."

"I received a leter from my lord Hopton, to which he shall have an answer in my next.

"To Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer."

The same to the same.

"S^{t} Germains 14th June

"My dear frend,

"Two dayes since I receaved your chearful leter by Henry Seym^{r}., and with that I could finde as much reason to rejoyce at the King's being well receaved by the Scotts as you did, but when you have read this weeks prints, (herewith sent you) I fear you will find cause to be as full of apprehensions as I ame; Jack Ashb. sent away, new proclamations against the king's friends, Oxford commanded to be given up, and in, and with it all the king's garrisons; noe messenger or leter from the king since he came to the Scotche army. Put all these things (and many moor) together, and you will conclude

with me, all is not right. Not to dissemble with you the London petition doth not halfe make me amends; on the other side the extraordinary sudden greate power of the Presbyteryans takes away all hopes of either a good warr, or a good peace to springe oute of the divisions betwixt them, and the Independents. Yet I cannot beleave those braves will leave the stage withoute a bloody nose; certainly they will appear, though (I thinke) with litle other fruite than to give their ennemy's a victory, and thereby discover the weakenesse of that phanaticale party. What wee are to doe uppon this intelligence, requireth second thoughts, and more perfect intelligence, what the house of Commons resolve upon this peticoñ.

"To morrow we go to the Cardinall aboute the Instructions for Monsieur Bellaure, the new Embassador for England, from whence you shall againe hear from me, when my thoughts shall be lesse disturbed than they are, for the present. The greatest service that I can doe you (in the humour I am in) is to make an end and subscribe my self &c.,

"JOHN CULPEPER."

"The Lord Capel hath conveyed to you the Queen's sence, and his owne, uppon the London intelligence, which I assure you I do not despise, as altogether vaine. They will use all possible arts to gett the Prince into their hands.

"To the Right Hon. Sir Edw. Hyde, &c.
in Jersey."

Montreuil, the French envoy, who had escaped from England under the pretext that his person was in danger,

in consequence of his warm expostulations in favour of the king, now came to Paris, pretending that he was the bearer of a letter from the king to Lord Jermyn in cipher, in which his majesty urged the prince's speedy removal, saying that he did not believe he could be safe any where but with his mother. Montreuil likewise professed to bring a verbal message to the same effect; but Ashburnham, who had escaped also about the same time, and was quite as trustworthy as any man, declared that the king's opinion of the expediency for the prince's coming to France, "could proceed from nothing but the thought of his insecurity in Jersey."

Montreuil's message being much more congenial to the queen's views than Ashburnham's opinion, she became confirmed in her original purpose. In this dilemma, Lord Capel himself offered to undertake a journey to Newcastle to receive the king's ultimatum, but her majesty declined the offer; and, being peremptory against further delay, she sent over Lord Jermyn, who was governor of Jersey, together with the several other lords, to see her commands executed in that island.

Cardinal Mazarin, who was exceedingly solicitous to get the Prince of Wales within his power, had in the meantime written a "letter to the old Prince of Condé, (which he knew he would forthwith send to the queen, which he did,) stating that he had received a very certain advertisement out of England, that there were some persons about the Prince of Wales in Jersey, who had undertaken to deliver his highness up into the hands of the parliament for twenty thousand pistoles." This letter was immediately forwarded to the lords, "that it might be shewn to the Prince; and that they who attended upon him might discern what would be thought

of them, if they dissuaded his highness from giving present obedience to his mother's commands."[1]

But we must now return to Jersey, in time to witness the departure of the prince's own barge on the 16th of June, under the command of Captain Bowden, and under convoy of a frigate of six guns. They are on their way to Cotainville, there to await the arrival of the lords, who, as his highness is informed, have left Paris, and are pursuing their journey towards the coast of Normandy in order to embark for Jersey.

We shall give Chevalier's account of the return of the barge and frigate in his own words; it would indeed be marred by a translation.

"Les seigneurs qui avoient partis de Jersey pour aller voir la Reine d'Angleterre, a Paris, l'onzieme jour de Mai, rarrivèrent à Jersey Samedi le Vingtieme de Juin suivant, avec un gros train; car ils etoient six milords, et arrivèrent ici avec grande compagnie d'hommes. Ils etoient entre soixante à quatre vingt, tant de la suite des dits Lords, q'autres gentilshommes, qui venoient voir le Prince. Les noms des Milords qui etoient allés voir la Reine, à Paris, etoient Milord Capel, Milord Digby et Milord Colepepper. Les trois autres qui revinrent avec eux à Jersey etoient Milord Witherington, Milord Jermyn, et Milord Wentworth, ils etoient venus avec leur trains pour emmener le Prince en France, à Paris, avec la Reine sa mère. Sur quoi Sir George de Carteret fit barrer immediatement tous les Havres de cet Isle, à celle fin que personne ne sortit pour porter les nouvelles que le Prince etoit sur son départ.

"Son altesse avoit reçu par les mains de Milord Jermyn des lettres de sa mère la Reine d'Angleterre qui etoit

[1] Hist. of Rebellion.

demeurante à Paris, laquelle le mandoit, et avoit envoyé Milord Jermyn, et autre lords à Jersey pour consulter ensemble, et emmener le dit Prince en France, hors des dominions de la couronne d'Angleterre. Il y eut une grande combustion à ce sujet entre les lords, les uns etoient d'opinion que le Prince n'y allât pas, et les autres etoient d'opinion contraire. Depuis le Samedi 20e Juin que les lords arriverent de France, et que le Prince eut reçut les lettres que sa mère lui envoyait, et qu'il eut parlé à Milord Jermyn, il etoit fort porté d'aller voir sa mère. Cependant plusieurs de ses lords s'opposerent de tout leur pouvoir, mais ils n'y seurent rien faire, quelque remontrances qu'ils fissent du danger qui pourroit arriver par la suite, car my lord Jermyn le detournoit toujours de rester, et s'y employa de toute sa force, et fit tant par belles promesses aux autres lords et aux autres gentilhommes de la suite, qu'à la fin le Prince etant toujours enclin de ce coté la, qu'on ne put en aucune manière l'en empêcher. Et voyant qu'ils ne pouvaient rien gagner sur lui, là pluspart de ses seigneurs, chevaliers et gentilshommes et d'autres de sa suite en faisoient de grandes lamentations, même jusqu'à en répandre des larmes très amèrement la plus part d'iceux, et prirent leur congé de lui, et lui dirent qu'ils n'iroient point avec lui en France. Le conseil fut tenu le Dimanche (21e) l'après midi, et le lundi (22e) ensuivant, au Chateau Elizabeth, entre le Prince et ses lords, et toute sa cour, pour essayer de le dissuader d'aller en France, mais ce fut en vain."

Chevalier stops short at the gates of Elizabeth Castle, unable to arrive at the door of the Council Chamber to play the eavesdropper; but we, who fortunately possess the privilege of *entrée* into both the castle

and the conclave assembled therein, are enabled to give a detailed report of the discussions between the contending lords. In order, however, that our report should receive credit with the public, it is necessary to state that we derive our information from "a long and very particular account, in Sir Edward Hyde's own hand, of the debates in the Princes council upon the much agitated question, whether he should remove from Jersey to France or not," preserved among the Clarendon manuscripts.

"Memorandum concerninge the Prince's remove from Jersey, 25th June 1646.

"On Saturday the 20th of June (the old style) about 5 of the clocke in the afternoone, the lords Capell and Culpeper landed at the new Castle from France, together with the lord Jermin, the lord Digby, the lord Wentworth, the lord Witherington, Sir Marmaduke Langdale, Sir Will Davinant, and many other gentlemen. The lords no sooner anquered in Jersey, then (after salutation of those they found there) the lord Digby, walkinge with the Chancellour, told him that it was resolved that the Prince must go into France; and that all that company were intire in the opinion, and advice, save only my lord Capell, who, he could not say was cleere in it, but he hoped well, and therefore he conjured me, that I would deliver no opinion against it, till he had conferred with me, for that he was confident he should fully satisfy me in the reasonablenesse, and necessity of it. I told him that I could deliver no opinion against it, for that I presumed (though I was then extremely against it) that upon conference with ther lordships ther reasons would ether converte me, or myne them, and by this time we were come to the Castle.

"The Prince havinge receaved some letters, and papers from the Lord Jermin, and conferred some tyme with him, called my lords into his Bedchamber to Counsell; where, when wee were sate downe, together with the Lords Jermin Digby and Wentworth, (whom his Highnesse particularly commanded to stay, as my lord Jermin told me) the Queen's letter, and his extracts of letters from the Kinge, whereof one was in my lord Jermin's hande, were reade.[1] And thereupon there was a long silence; after which I rose and desyred, that in a matter of so greate importance, upon which the fate of 3 kingdomes might depend, wee might not be put suddaynely to deliver an opinion, but that the debate might be putt off till the morrow; and in the meanetyme that wee might possibly receave some satisfaction from each other in private discourses, which might operate upon us in point of judgement. The lord Jermyn replyed, that he conceaved there was no argument for debate; but only for the tyme, and circumstances of his Highnesse remove, since the matter itselfe was resolved upon; and therefore that he conceaved the Prince might now declare his resolutions, and then the next might be debated the next day. The lord Culpeper sayd, that he conceaved he, nor any there, were free to enter upon the debate of the thing itselfe, which was resolved, and desired his Highnesse not to suffer any body to dispute against what the King and queen had positively commanded.

"But when the lords Capell and Hopton declared that wee were, not only, free and at liberty to advise upon the whole matter, but were obliged, as counsellours to his Majesty (the advice of the major parte of whome his Highnesse was by his Royall Father commanded to

[1] See note, page 440.

follow) to deliver our opinion, and counsell to him upon it, and that if farther tyme, and deliberation should not be given (which would be very necessary for the dignity, and reputation of the counsell, whatever might be resolved upon) they would be ready presently to declare ther judgements, as honest men, and faythfull counsellours, it was with much adoe adjourned till the next day, in the afternoon. The lord Wentworth at the rysinge of the Counsell sayinge that for his parte, he thoughte the matter of debate could be no other, then whether the Prince should obey his Father and Mother, who had positively commanded his repayre into France, and that every minute he deferred his journey, after he could make himselfe ready for it, his piety to them would be suspended.

"As soone as the Counsell rose the lord Digby, and the lord Jermin walked with me to the topp of Mounte,[1] beinge inclined, as I thought to acquainte me with those reasons which satisfied, and convinced them of the fitnesse, and necessity of that matter. But the first thinge they sayd to me was, whether I believed the resolution which was taken, concerninge the Prince's journey, might be altred? I told them, I thought it might; they replyed it was not possible, except the prince himselfe absolutely refused to goe, which, I might observe, his Highnesse was very farr from. That, I must lay that as a foundation. That it was not possible, by any thinge that could be sayd, or done, to alter the resolution that was taken; and then that I was to consider whether it would become me to blast the counsell, which I could not reforme, or by any concurrence to continue my parte, and alacrity in ther Majesty's service.

[1] The ramparts of the upper ward of the fortress.

"I expected not that logique from them as my friends, who, I supposed, would have informed me of those reasons which prevayled with them, nor from the Kinge himselfe, whome I had served by a better rule than blind obedyence of doeinge whatsoever I was bidd. That I had hitherto injoyed the comforte of beinge sure I was innocent, and that I would not parte from that upon any commande whatsoever; which, I was confident, the Kinge would never give me; and, therfore, if they would argue in no other way with me, they must excuse me, not only for not concurringe with them, but for disdayninge to acte any parte with them. But, if they would have patience to hear me, I thought I might possibly say that to them, which might not be unworthy ther consideration. The lord Jermin sayd, that he would admitt, that the place where the Prince now was, is secure; that it were much better, and much to be wished, that he might stay ther, and that ther might be many inconveniences in the remove; yet, that since all the dependance was upon the French, who had taken the Kinge and Prince to hearte, not only for the assistance they were to receave from them in men or money, but for what the Scotts should doe for the Kinge; and that they were positive, that, without the Prince's goinge into France, they would doe nothinge, in prudence it was to be consented to. I answered that logique,—concluded, that every thinge else was as well to be done, after he came hither; that they advised that which I thought would not be a prosperous rule for the Kinge, Prince, or kingdome; they both agreed that the game was to be played out by the French interest, which, they were confident, would carry it on fayre for the Kinge's advantage.

"The lord Jermin departed, and left my lord Digby with me, who, he sayd he was confident, would converte me. When he was gone the lord Digby told me, that if I were as well assured of the intention of France as he was, I could not differ with him; that they were very sensible how much they had prejudiced themselves by not more seasonably helpinge the Kinge, which they would now repayre; that they had sent an Ambassador into Englande, nominated by the Queene, whose instructions he shewed me, (drawn up as he sayd by himselfe, and the other lords who came with him). But when he founde me unmoved with what he sayd, or what he shewed me, and that I resolved not to consent to it, or to goe the jorney, if it should be resolved on, he conjured me with greate expressions of friendshipp, (which truly he believed were hearty) if I would not goe into France, that I would goe with him into Ireland; whereby I might continue my activity in the Kinge's service without beinge thought to deserte the Prince. I told him I could as little give my selfe leave to go thither, as to the other place, beinge unsatisfied with the state of affayres ther; and so wee parted, without makinge any impression on each other.

"The next day beinge Sunday, and the Prince havinge commanded the sermon to be in the Castle, which had not bene usuall, after dinner, wee againe attended the Prince in counsell, when the Queen's letter, and the two other extracts, were agayne reade, his Highnesse sayinge that he thoughte ther could be no dispute upon the thinge; his goinge into France beinge so positively commanded by the King, and Queene. But after at least an howers debate, it was agreed that every man should deliver his opinion as he thought fitt, that, thereupon,

his Highnesse might take his resolution. It was then desired, that seinge it was very evident that there were very many benefits, and conveniences in his Highness' stayinge in the Kinge's dominions, and at least many hazards, and possible inconveniences attended his removall, ther lordships' who brought this commande, would give such reasons as might weigh downe the other considerations, and impart so much of the French resolutions, and undertakings, as might give a probable assurance, that the Prince's goinge thither, might proove for his advantage, and for the benefit of the Queene of England. But this beinge no otherwise replyed to, then that the Crowne of France, and the sendinge an Ambassadour to the Parliament to mediate a peace, upon honourable tearmes, and if it should be refused, that it would denounce war against them, and that those who were instructed by his Majesty were very well satisfied of the French intention and resolutions.

"The Earle of Barkshire, the Earl of Brayntford, the lords Capell and Hopton, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer unanimously delivered ther advice and opinion to the Prince, that he should suspend his resolution and journey into France, till he might receave a positive commande from the Kinge. After the representations of ther advices, and the condition of this Island to His Majesty, they told him, that they feared in this conjunction of tyme, before he fully understoode the affayers of Englande, what liklehoode or probability there was of a treaty, how the affections, and inclinations of Scotlande stoode to his Majesty's service, and what dependance they had upon the Crowne of France, and how farr they would be governed by them, that a suddayne departure and desertion of his own dominions might prove per-

nitious, and fatall to the Kinge, his highness, the Crowne, and the cause. That his Majesty's greatest, and most probable hope beinge upon the devisyons, and animosityes betweene the Presbeterians and Indepeudants, (which were now neere a crisis), that it was to be feared, this suddayne alteration, by his Highnesse remove, might reconcile and unite those partyes against his Majesty; since the Scotts could not but take it very ill, (and would reproche his Majesty with it) that in a tyme, when he hath putt himselfe into the handes, and is upon the matter already engaged in a treaty with the Parliament, he shoulde directe or consent to putt the person of the Prince of Wales into the handes, and consequently into the disposall of a forraigne Crowne, and that it would not be possible to establish a peace, disband armyes, and dismantle townes whilst the Prince was in France; all which inconveniences and mischieves would be imputed to him. That the affections of Englande, and of the English in forraigne partes, upon which his Highnesse had now a notable influence, would by this Acte grow very undenoted to him, and despayre of any reasonable protection from him. That it would not be possible for him to avoyde skandall, and imputation upon his religion, (in which all this tyme he was unspotted,) which might prove his ruine. That, if he went into France, he must expecte to be wholy disposed accordinge to the interest of that nation, which is very different from that of England; and to be unconsidered by any other Prince or state. That, for the commande of his Majesty, (upon which the other from the Queene was grounded), it could not be understoode to be positive, since he had expressed by the wordes of it, that it proceeded from his feare that the Prince could not be

safe in Jersey; of the contrary whereof he should no sooner be info.med, then he would be as well contented to be disobeyed in this particular, as he had bene in others concerninge the Prince's remove, which he had very well approved of, when he had been informed of things, he coulde not before understande. That there could be no possible inconvenience in deferringe this resolution (since in case of danger, which was not probable, he might easily and safely transporte himselfe into France) till he might, upon full information, receave a commande from the Kinge.. That one moneth more would produce somewhat, upon which it might, by all wise and honest men, be concluded, ether that his goinge into France would proove very mischievous, (and then the respitt would be happy) or else that would be very advantageous and necessary; and then all honest men would consent to it. And therefore they advised to send away to the King, and, till ether a releeve from him, or some other emergent accident, to defer the stirringe from this Islande; which might be done at any tyme, but the contrary could not be retracted, upon what reason soever. That none were trusted by his Majesty to counsell him, but they whome his Father had sent to that purpose, who were only (alone) responsible for the Counsell they should give. And so those five (of the Council) concluded against his goinge.

"The lord Culpeper delivered his opinion that the command from the kinge was positive, and therefore advised the Prince to submitt to it; but declared that to the matter itselfe, he could not deliver any opinion, though he hoped that many of the things foretolde, by the other lords, would not come to passe.

"The other three lords, Jermin, Digby, and Went-

worth, without ever givinge any answer to what had bene objected; or givinge the board any information, concerninge the French, (but only negligently insinuating that they knew somewhat more than they spoke); or without shewinge the originalls of those letters from the kinge, of which they had produced extracts, desyred the Prince to declare, himselfe, what he resolved to doe.

"Before the doeinge whereof, it was presented to him that, of his six counsellors, whose advice he was, by his father's instructions, to follow, five had delivered ther positive opinions, and advice, that he should not yet goe into France, without attendinge further direction from the Kinge. But he presently in few wordes sayd that he conceaved it a commande from the Kinge and Qucene, and resolved to obey it as soone as might be; and therfore gave directions for provydinge all things for the journey against Tuesday morninge.

"Then the lord Culpeper told him, that though till then he spoke very unwittingly, he should propose now somewhat, which he thought was seasonable; and, since his Highnesse had given the rule, and declared his own resolution, he besought him to commande all the lords, unanimously to joyne together in that which could not be altered, and by ther counsell to prevent those inconveniences which they apprehended; which he hoped they would be willinge to doe, the rather soe, that he knew the resolution of the Queene was, that all thinges should be done, after his cominge into France, by the advice of his Counsell.

"The Earle of Barkshyre, lord Capel, lord Hopton, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer answered that, they apprehended soe muche mischieves from the resolution then taken, that, as they could not advise, so they

could not accompany it. That they conceaved themselves now of no farther use, and could have no reason to expecte, or hope, that ther Counsell should be hereafter followed, when it was soe unreasonably rejected now; and therfore desyred to be excused from any further attendance. And so, without any further replyes, the Counsell broke up; and were commanded to attend agayne the next day, to consider what was fitt to be done with reference to this Island, or to those other places within his Highness' care, he beinge resolved to stay no longer than Tuesday morninge.

"On monday morninge, and in the afternoone the Counsell agayne attended the Prince, and presented to him the state of the accounts, by which appeared the debts owinge to him in this Islande, the condition of the garrisons of Pendennis and Silly, to both which some reasonable reliefe was to be applyed. On this debate ther was mention of provydinge 200 English Souldyers for the garrison of Silly, and demande beinge made wher they should be gotten, it was answered that wee had been informed it was no hard matter to gett such a number in France of those Souldyers, which were transported out of Englande from the Kinge's service; which Lord Jermyn said was impossible. Whereupon the Lord Wentworth sayd, most of the intelligence was mencioned the day before, he believed was answerable to this: to which the Prince was not willinge to heare any reply, but risinge, the lord Capell told his Highnesse, that the advice which was given him to respitt his jorney, he believed was very good, and if followed would proove most to the advantage of the kinge, and himselfe; and, therfore, besought him humbly that he would yet suspend his journey; in which rule those

lords who were of that opinion joyned, but the lord Jermin answered that his Highnesse could not better requite my lord Capell's mocion; than by desyringe him, since it was not possible for him to stay heare, to attend his Highnesse into France; the lord Culpeper addinge that, he besought my lords to consider, what infinite difference to his Highnesse, and what a blastinge it would be of his future hopes, when the world should see that persons of that honour, and reputation had deserted his service, by which those designers, which otherwise might be hopefull would be rendered desperate.

" The Lord Capell answered, he had given that testimony of his faithfulnesse, and duty to the Prince, and his cause, that he thoughte himselfe above any suspicion, and that he would never forgive the man, that thoughte he could deserte his service; to which, though the lord Culpeper replyed, by excusinge and explayninge himselfe. The Counsell quickly broke up, and those who had disscented the journey, kissed the Prince's hande, and took ther leaves of him, conceavinge he would accordinge to his resolution bene gone the next morninge by five of the clocke."

These hasty memoranda, fresh from the Chancellor's own pen, are much more graphic, much more interesting and instructive than that portion of his History, avowedly compiled from these very notes: notes jotted down, most probably as he sat at the council table, chafing at Jermyn's supercilious *nonchalance*. They admit us without reserve behind the scenes; reveal to us the by-play of the *fantoccini*, indirectly set in motion by that subtle Italian *artiste*, Giulio Mazarini; and enable us to criticise the performances of the rival com-

pany of actors, under the management of the pertinacious chancellor.

On comparing his rough notes, and more polished History, with the extracts from the king's letter produced before the Council,[1] by Lord Jermyn, there is reason to doubt the correctness of Hyde's insinuation that the extracts had been falsified. It is much more likely that the king wrote under erroneous impressions, as to the security of Jersey and the loyalty of its inhabitants, instilled into his mind by letters from the queen or Jermyn; and that her majesty had misconstrued or perverted the sentence, "I think not Prince Charles safe in Jersey" into the positive command for his removal thence.[2]

[1] "This is the true copy of the king's letter, signed by me Henrietta Marie R. 'It is true that my person will not want danger; but I want not probabilities of reasonable good security; the chiefest of which is Prince Charles' being with thee; concerning whom I desire thee, as thou lovest me, first, that thou wouldst not endeavour to alter him in religion, nor so much as trouble him on that point; next that thou wouldst not thyself, nor suffer him to be engaged in any treaty of marriage, without first having my approbation.'"

Extract of the King's letter to the Queen of 28 May, 1646, from Newcastle:—

"I think not Prince Charles safe in Jersey, therefore send for him to wait upon thee with all speed; for his preservation is the greatest hope for my safety; and in God's name let him stay with thee, till it is seen what ply my business will take. And for my sake let the world see that the queen seeks not to alter his conscience."

[2] The positive command "was sent to Sir George Carteret by the Lord Jermyn the next day after the Prince went from hence; he received it thence from Paris, and directed him to shew it to me." *

"Concerning the Prince of Wales, France is the place I think fittest for him to remain in, all things considered, whether it be for the contributing to a happy peace, or a gallant war. Wherefore now command him in my name to wait upon you, and suffer not thyself to be persuaded to the contrary, by any pretence whatsoever * * * ."—State Papers, vol. ii. p. 239.

* This is in Lord Clarendon's hand.

To this command the queen in her letter[1] exacted instant obedience, fearful no doubt that, if her son's departure were delayed, the representations of the adverse party in the council as to the real state of affairs, might induce the king to withhold his consent;—a circumstance which would have frustrated her majesty's designs by offending the cardinal, who "directed all that was to be done, dictated all that was to be said, and did think the presence of the Prince there (in France) of the highest importance to their affairs."

Lord Jermyn, the confidant of the queen, the tool of the cardinal, the bearer of letters and private messages from the mother to the son, had little difficulty in prevailing on the latter to exchange the monotonous life he was leading in Jersey for the gaieties of Paris and Fontainebleau. Secure of having produced the desired impression on the mind of the young prince, he put him in the front of the battle, referred the question of removal entirely to his decision, and was ably seconded by the Lord Wentworth's insinuation, that his highness' filial piety would be called in question if he disobeyed the commands of the king and queen.

We acquire much circumstantial information, relative to the incidents attending the Prince's embarkation, from this interesting document; the crevices in which are filled up by Chevalier's local details, adapting themselves as accurately as if some tacit understanding had previously existed between the two narrators. It is very remarkable how much these two accounts corroborate and elucidate each other: the one, written by the leader of the opposition in the privy council, the other by a

[1] State Papers, vol. ii. p. 238.

subaltern parochial officer, whose most authentic source of information could have been little more than second-hand back-stairs gossip, obtained from some of the domestics resident in the castle. We cannot for a moment imagine that the inquisitive *vingtenier* could have gained access to the chancellor's private papers; and we know that he was laid in the dust long before the publication of the History of the Rebellion. Nevertheless, his statements are so much to be relied upon, that we do not hesitate to give them *verbatim* wherever those of the learned historian are defective.

"Lundi après le conseil, le Prince et ceux qui devoient l'accompagner pour s'en aller à Paris, frettèrent cinq ou six bateaux pour y charger les chevaux, et autres hardes, tant du Prince que de ses gens: car tout son train et baggage s'en alla avec lui. Le Mardi au matin, vingt troisieme jour du courant, les bateaux se preparoient de partir du Chateau Elizabeth auquel le Prince se gardait toujours, restant encore au dit chateau attendant pour la Patache de Capitaine Bowden, qui etoit mouillée en rade, en laquelle le Prince se devoit embarquer. Or, comme les susdits bateaux etoient encore devant le dit chateau, et sous voile, pour leur en aller en France, voila deux navires du Parlément qui vinrent à paroitre par la pointe de la Corbière, et portoient le cap sur le chateau; lesquels navires venoient de Guernésey faire leurs algarades devant le dit chateau comme ils avoient accoutumés. Alors ceux du chateau, les ayant apperçus les premiers, tirèrent aussitôt un coup de canon à balle sur les bateaux pour les avertir de n'aller pas outre, mais plutôt de rebrousser leur route, ce qui fut fait aussitôt; s'en etant revenus à la

place d'ou ils avoient parti. C'est pourquoi le Mardi se passa ainsi, n'ayant pu sortir à cause de ces navires Parlementaires qui louvoyèrent la. Les Lords et tout le peuple en etoient bien joyeux de voir que ces navires les retardoient de sortir ce jour la."

Hyde accounts for the delay in another way. "Tuesday morninge," he continues, "about six of the clocke, we went agayne to the castle and found the Prince ready, and the winde fayre; but the little vessel in which he was to goe, not come out of the roade, by reason the seamen would not stirr, declaringe themselves that they would nòt carry the Prince into France. Whereupon the Prince desyred Sir Geo. Cartwright to goe himselfe thither, who quickly tooke order that the vessell came into the roade. But by that tyme the winde was changed, so that the journey was respited till the next morninge, beinge Wensday; his Highnesse commandinge all persons to be aboord by four of the clocke the next morninge.[1] That night the winde was so high, that no man durst putt to sea, yet the impatience of the

[1] "Le lendemain qui etoit Mercredi le 24e Juin, les bateaux étant toujours gardés à flot, pour être prêts à partir au premier bon temps. Mais le vent étoit grand, et le temps point assuré pour leurs en aller, ce qui les retarder encore ce jour, et dont le peuple étoit fort joyeux espérant que Dieu lui pourroit changer le cœur, et le décourager de ne point sortir des Dominions du Royaume. Dieu, qui tient en sa main le cœur des Rois et des Princes, en avoit autrement ordonné, car le Prince etoit si tellement porté qu'il n'y avoit personne qui l'en pût détourner. Les heures lui paroissoient des jours, les jours lui paroissoient des années, comme il lui ennuyoit de ne pouvoir passer assez tôt, comme il le desiroit. Quoiqu'il voyoit devant lui la plupart de ses Lords, Chevaliers et Gentilshommes en grande peine et douleur, lesquels avoient mis leurs vies et leurs biens en danger pour l'amour de lui; lesquels venoient prendre leurs congé de lui, ne voulant pas aller l'accompagner en France; et nonobstant cela ne pût l'empêcher de s'y en aller."—*Chevalier's MS.*

Prince was so greate that towards eveninge he would have putt to sea for St. Malloes, or for any other part of Françe; but was by the seamen disswaded, there beinge a very slender winde, and that against him, and the Channell reported to be full of Parliament shipps and shallops, soe that the journey was againe putt off till Thursday morninge,[1] when some botes in which the servants and attendants were, putt to sea, his Highnesse himselfe goinge aboord his Frigate. But the winde was so full agaynst him that, the botes havinge bene a league at sea were dryven backe, and so the Prince came agayne on shore, wher he stayed till the afternoone. About five of the clocke, the winde continuinge still contrary, he resolved to try his fortune, and suddaynely putt all his company aboord, and himselfe went into his Shalley, resolvinge to row over; but, within half an hower after he was at sea the winde came fayre, and blew a prety gale, so that he went into the bigger vessel, and by

[1] "Le Jeudi entre les trois et quatres heures du matin les bateaux mirent à la voile pour leurs en aller en France, et le Prince s'embarqua dans la Frégate de Capitaine Baudain (Bowden), et ayant mis à la voile par un petit vent. Mais assez tot, le vent vint à se fraichir, et vint à l'est-sud-est, tout contraire, et venoit d'ou ils avoient affaire. C'est pourquoi les bateaux qui avoient sorti les premiers furent contraints de rélacher, et de s'en revenir sous le Chateau d'ou ils avoient partis. Et la frégate Baudain, en laquelle etoit le Prince, s'en vint mouiller en rade. Elle ne s'etoit pas encore beaucoup éloignée, lorsque le vent vint contraire elle etoit encore mouillée devant le chateau. Or, après qu'elle fut mouillée en rade ils remirent le Prince et ses lords à terre. Mais quand ce vint sur sur la relevée, environ les cinq heures du soir, le temps se mit à l'orage, et du vent du Sud-Ouest venant de se fraichir, et tous les vaisseaux qui etoient dediés pour cette expedition, ayant été gardés à flot, pour ne pas negliger le bon temps. Incontinent ceux des bateaux s'embarquent, et mettent à la voile, et le Prince et ses lords qui le suivoient s'embarquerent au bord de la Fregate Baudain, et les lords qui n'alloient point avec le Prince venoient prendre congé de lui à un pied et à genou, lui baisant la main, puis se retiroient arrière de lui."—Chevalier's MS.

eleven of the clocke at night, reached the French shore, and lay at anchor till day breake, and then he landed with all his retinue.

"From Tuesday morninge that he first intended to goe, he stayed with greate impatience, and would never suffer any of his attendants, or trayne to goe out of the castle, lest they might be absent in that article of tyme when the winde should serve, which he resolved to lay hold of. So that nobody went to bedd, from that tyme, till they came into France, and eate only such meate as my lady Cartwright could suddaynely provyde. The lords Capell and Hopton and the Chancellor of the Exchequer went once a day from the towne to kisse his handes, after they had first taken ther leave of him; and stayed very little tyme ther growinge every day a visible strangenesse betweene them and the rest, in so much that they had little speech together, and the last day none; the other lords sittinge upon the rocke of the water syde, whilst they walked upon the bouling greene with the Prince, who quickly left them, and they returned."

Chevalier extols the devoted attention paid to the Prince by Jermyn and Digby, the one supporting him by one arm, the other by the other on his way from the castle to the barge. The guileless journalist little imagined that this apparent devotion arose from apprehension that, even at the eleventh hour, Hyde, by some means or other, might regain his ascendancy, and persuade his pupil to remain in Jersey. We must again allow the Jerseyman to relate the affair in his own terms:

"Lorsque le Prince partit du Chateau pour s'embarquer, Milord Jermyn le menoit d'un côté par sous le bras, et Milord Digby le menoit de l'autre, lesquels le condui-

sèrent de cette façon, jusqu'à l'embarquage de sa petite Patache, qui le porta au bord de la Frégate qui etoit en rade, laquelle avoit six pieces de canon, et la Frégate Milord Digby en avoit douze, laquelle fut convoyer le Prince jusqu'au vieux chateau; puis ensuite mis le cap de l'autre côté, my lord Digby y etant ils s'en retournerent en Irlande. Et la frégate du Prince tint la route de Normandie, ayant huit bateaux avec eux pour porter le monde et leurs hardes. Ils partirent tous d'une Flotte de devant le Chateau Elizabeth, sans aucune tirerie d'adieu, ni du Chateau, ni des Frégates, à leur departie les uns des autres, qui fut viron faute de jour; or, après que les Frégates eurent parti, ils eurent un temps d'orage, accompagné d'eclairs, tonnère, pluie, et vent pêle mêle. Le vent souffloit avec véhémence, cependant ils arriverent heureusement à la côte de Normandie, à Cotainville, à onze heures du soir.

" Les lords qui allerent en France avec le Prince sont ceux ci, savoir, milord Ruthen, Comte de Brentford, avec sa femme, dame damée, et sa fille; Milord Wetherington, milord Colepepper, Milord Jermyn, et Sir Jean Greenfield, et plusieurs chevaliers, gentilshommes, et gens de qualité; quatre Ministres, Docteurs en Theologie, savoir Docteur Creighton, chapelain du Roy, Docteur Woolls, Docteur Clay et Docteur Earles. Aussi les Docteurs Jean Poley, et Jean Nicholas Vaughan, deux des Commissaires Royaux, et leur Greffier Perret. Plusieurs serviteurs, et gens de métier, comme cordonniers, tailleurs, lavandières, &c. allerent avec le Prince.[1] Capitaine Bau-

[1] The Earl of Berkshire, the Prince's governor, much mortified at his pupil's going out of his father's dominions, refused to accompany him to France, preferring to repair to Holland. On the 27th of the month he sailed in a Norman shallop for St. Maloes, where he met with some Dutch ships preparing for sea; embarking in one of their

dain etant arrivé en France avec sa petite Frégate auquelle etoit le Prince, son altesse alors l'honora et le fit Ecuier, et lui donna soixante pistoles, tant pour lui que pour ses gens.

"Depuis que lord Jermyn fut arrivé à Jersey pour emmener le Prince en France, le Prince ne sortoit plus du chateau Elizabeth; ni Milord Jermyn, qui etoit gouverneur de cette Isle ne vint point à la ville remercier le peuple, ni les prier de continuer leur bonne affection vers sa Majesté; mais il resta toujours au chateau. La departie du Prince fut grandement régrettée, tant de partie des siens, que des Habitants du Pays; il demeura à Jersey Dix semaines sauf un jour."

"The islanders," says Hyde, "expressed a generall sadnesse, full of great passyon of duty, and kindnesse, for his remove; and made many addresses to diverte his journey, with wonderfull expressyons that they would sell all they had to serve him, if he would stay still with them; all which was not hearkened to with ordinary respecte, many havinge infused a jealousey into the Prince of the affections of the Islanders, which, without doubte, were very entire to him."

The only personal memento of Prince Charles' first visit to Jersey is a single riding boot, still preserved in the armoury at Elizabeth Castle. In size it is adapted for a lad of sixteen, and is made of coarse black leather, with a thick sole, and high many-pieced heel: altogether a very clumsy sample of boot-making.

vessels on the 3d of July, he passed near Jersey on his way to Holland, and caused a salute to be fired, as a leave-taking to the friends he was leaving behind him. Clarendon asserts that he "went for England," a palpable error, as will be seen hereafter.

Shut up in a dull insulated fortress, never allowed to go ashore without a retinue, for fear of an ambuscade; with no other amusement than his painted barge, no other companions than the lords of his council, "kept like a school boy," as it is said, and "snubbed" by the gouty Chancellor of the Exchequer,—it is not wonderful that young Charles, well advanced in his teens, should eagerly have desired to partake of the delights of the French capital—delights, painted no doubt in varied and vivid colours by Jermyn, Digby, Wentworth, and others, who came over for the express purpose of decoying him into France.

END OF VOL. I.

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